the weekly
Standard
SEPTEMBER 20, 2004
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AFTER BESLAN
FREDERICK W. KAGAN
STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

Ready, Fire, Aim

The anti-Bush counteroffensive

Matthew Continetti
Gerard Baker
Fred Barnes
Stephen F. Hayes
Robert Kagan & William Kristol

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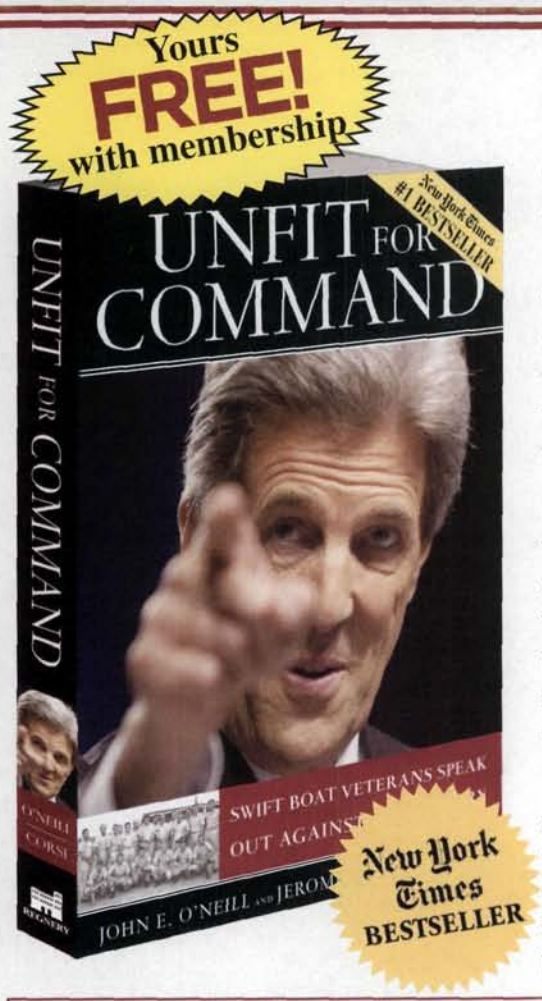
Read the Kerry Book That's Rocking the Election!

Swift Boat Vets Speak Out Against Kerry's "Military Career"



John Kerry is a liar and a fraud, unfit to be the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces. That's not just the opinion of American conservatives: As this astonishing new book shows, *most of the men who served with Kerry in Vietnam think this way.* Now, in ***Unfit for Command***, John O'Neill and Jerry Corsi explain why.

O'Neill and Corsi lay bare in this book the hypocrisy and paradoxes of Kerry. They explain how someone who until recently claimed he was a war criminal, who threw away his medals and supported the North Vietnamese with his words, and who even met with enemy delegations in Paris while our soldiers were fighting and dying in the field, can now switch sides to run as a hero of those he condemned as criminal in that war.

This book gives you the whole story: the truth about the service in Vietnam that Kerry has consistently distorted for his own political gain; Kerry's notorious, un-American activities as head of the peacenik group Vietnam Veterans Against the War; his cynical practice of trying to appeal to both sides of the American voting public; and his antiwar activities; and much, much more that establishes beyond all doubt that Kerry is truly unfit to be President, or to hold any public office.

Unfit for Command presents crucial information that the American people should consider carefully as they decide Kerry's fitness to be Commander-in-Chief. If patriotic Americans heed the facts that O'Neill and Corsi present here, they will return this untrustworthy, self-serving political animal to private life this November. Nothing less than our survival as a nation could hang in the balance.

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the weekly Standard

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Prince Albert on His Can

A friend writes: "Hoo, *boy*! Have a look at David Remnick's amazing Al Gore profile in the September 13 *New Yorker*." So that's what we've done, and damned if we haven't learned a few things in the process.

Did you know, for example, that "Gore has made an effort not to brood on the sidelines" since the 2000 presidential election was resolved in his opponent's favor? We didn't, either. But it's true, apparently: With a "distinct blend of uncomplaining poise and media-age irony," Remnick reports, Al Gore nowadays declines to say much of anything about . . . that Florida business and whatnot. For that matter, even about America's unpleasant political *present*, Gore seems able to maintain an impressive, nigh unto superhuman circumspection. Is he willing to call George W. Bush an idiot, for instance? He is not: "I'm not of the school that questions his intelligence," Gore tells Remnick. "There are different kinds of intelligence, and it's arrogant for a person with one kind of intelligence to question someone with another kind."

Instead—animated more by "public-minded sentiment" than personal bitterness over thwarted ambition, you understand—Gore will say of Bush only that "I think he's a bully" and "a coward" and a "very weak man." And, as Remnick is quick to point out, "only rarely" when Gore says such things does the former vice president actually become "feverish" with "hysteria." Like the time when, after one Democratic rally appearance not long ago, Gore's "collar was saturated" and "his face was reddened," although "it had not been particularly hot on stage."

Offstage, in particular, Gore and his wife Tipper remain the personification of cool, rest assured. They recently treated Remnick to an evening out at Nashville's Opryland. And "after the concert," Remnick remembers, "the Gores were in a good mood" and offered to show him the city's nighttime sights before dropping him back at his hotel.

So off they went:

> Tipper squirted some amber goo on her hands and rubbed them together and squirted some on her husband's hands when we were waiting at a red light. "Hand cleanser," she said in a professional tone, turning toward the back seat. "Want some? We've been shaking a lot of hands."

How on earth did these people not make it to the White House? ♦

In Gore's Defense, However . . .

It's hard to imagine even so charmless a man as Al Gore ever making quite so appalling a "joke" as John Kerry ad libbed to a crowd of 4,000 at a United Mine Workers Labor Day picnic in Racine, West Virginia, early last week. When it came time for Kerry to speak, event host Cecil Roberts, president of the United Mine Workers, called him up on stage and presented him with a Winchester shotgun made by UMW members in New York. For Senator Kerry's facial expression upon receiving this gift, see the photograph on our magazine's cover this week. And for the words which then came out of his mouth . . . well, read 'em and weep:

"It's a beautiful piece. It's a beautiful gift, Cecil. But I can't take it to the debate with me."

Exercising much the same news and editorial judgment it no doubt would have embraced had President Bush made a "facetious" remark about assassinating *his* opponent, the *New York Times* did not report this incident. ♦

And In Other West Virginia News

Elsewhere in the Mountain State—and also on Labor Day—longtime Republican mayor Richie Robb of South Charleston last week pointedly underscored just how ill-advised it would be for Karl Rove & Co. to take anything for granted between now and November 2. Mayor Robb's name will appear on West Virginia's Election Day ballot as one of the five Bush presidential electors designated by Republican state party chair Kris Warner in June. It turns out that Warner may live to regret that decision. Because it turns out—or so Robb says—that he may refuse to vote for Bush when the Electoral College meets in December, even if the president has again won a popular vote plurality in West Virginia.

"It's not likely that I would vote for Kerry," Robb told reporters after attending a rally organized by Jesse Jackson in Charleston. "But I'm looking at what my options are when it comes time to cast my vote." And since nothing in the West Virginia statute books obliges its Electoral College delegates to cast their ballots in accordance with officially recorded statewide sentiment, one of Robb's most obvious available options is a simple abstention.

To win back Mayor Robb's allegiance, the Bush White House need only abandon and repudiate its foreign and domestic policies. "I think President Bush needs to get the message from people across this country, includ-

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ing Republicans, that his strategy in national security and his economic policies need to be revisited," Robb says.

Should they fail to satisfy him, however, Robb could conceivably end up deciding the election all by himself—and handing a victory to John Kerry. President Bush won but 271 electoral votes last time around, remember: one more than the barest minimum necessary for a majority. And this time around, even a one-vote margin may prove more difficult to piece together.

This, on account of the fact that a shadowy group of out-of-state Democrats has meantime succeeded in winning November ballot status for a Colorado initiative altering that state's Electoral College allocation formula. The "Make Your Vote for President Count" initiative, described in these pages during its signature-drive back in June, would, if successful, require that Colorado's electoral votes be awarded—beginning this year—on a proportional basis, according to the popular-vote results.

To make a long story short, John Kerry would thereby be all but guaranteed at least four of Colorado's nine electoral votes, even if President Bush "carried" the state. Four years ago, having carried the state in the traditional sense of that phrase, Bush won all of its then-eight electoral votes.

And he needed each one. ♦

Oh, You Mean *That* Tom Vallely

"Finally, Kerry had had enough," *Newsweek*'s Richard Wolffe and Susannah Meadows last week reported online, in their suitably dramatic reconstruction of the Democratic nominee's newfound resolve against the dastardly Bush/Rove smear machine. "Furious that the mostly baseless attacks on his valor were driving his numbers down . . . Kerry's solution was to reach for an old ally. 'Get Vallely,' he screamed."

And who is "Vallely"? That, the *Newsweek* team explains, would be one Thomas Vallely, "the leader of the pack of vets that Kerry calls his dog-hunters, a group that has beaten back the attacks on his Vietnam record since his first Senate race 20 years ago."

And that—THE SCRAPBOOK feels it ought further to explain, because the *Newsweek* folks have not—would also be the same Tom Vallely who, a couple years earlier, served as Kerry's campaign field director in an unsuccessful House bid. In which capacity, at 2 A.M. on the eve of the Democratic primary, and in the company of Kerry's brother Cameron, Tom Vallely was arrested on a breaking-and-entering charge in the basement of a building housing the headquarters offices of Kerry and one of his opponents.

Senator Kerry today maintains that the arrest was a setup. In a story about the incident for the *Boston Globe* on June 18, correspondent Brian C. Mooney concluded that "some of Kerry's claims in the Lowell break-in are wildly at odds with the facts." ♦

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Casual

NEOPARENTING

As new parents, my wife and I want and need plenty of advice. From time immemorial, that advice came from elders—parents and grandparents and other wise souls who were presumed to know better because of their life experience. No longer. We parents of the new millennium know better than to look to our elders for counsel.

They simply don't have the latest information.

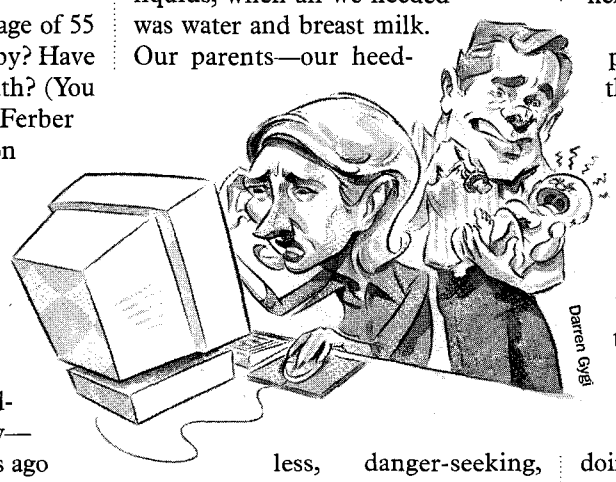
What do people over the age of 55 know about Ferberizing a baby? Have they even heard of Weissbluth? (You haven't either? Both Drs. Ferber and Weissbluth give advice on getting babies to sleep through the night.) It surely comes as news to them that a Los Angeles pediatrician named Harvey Karp has convinced millions of parents to return to the ancient practice of swaddling an inconsolable baby—something that until 10 years ago was considered nearly barbaric.

Can those who gave us life discourse on the difference between the lenient Sears school of thought on comforting your baby and the more rigorous "cry it out" preachers? Of course they can't. And let's face it. Today's grandparents have no choice but to be silent about "attachment parenting," unaware as they are of the pioneering work of John Bowlby, the British psychoanalyst whose studies of war orphans revealed babies need affection as much as they need food.

Our parents just had kids, read Dr. Spock (or didn't), and muddled through as best they could.

And it gets worse. We now know that our own parents, who we once thought took good care of us, were just shy of being our murderers. There we were, defenseless little creatures, and our parents were playing Russian roulette with our very lives!

It's a wonder we survived to have children of our own. It's a wonder we even got to our seventh birthdays. We were put to sleep on our stomachs, never strapped into car seats. We were sent out into the street to ride bikes without helmets. And we were fed a steady diet of juice and milk and other unnecessary, even poisonous, liquids, when all we needed was water and breast milk. Our parents—our heedless, danger-seeking, maniacal parents—fed us full of sugary, carbohydrate-laden foods, which began unhealthy eating habits that are harder to kick than heroin.



Who would take advice from such people? Free babysitting—anytime. But not advice.

And though we've learned all the theories in parenting class, we new parents still need counsel and guidance. Nobody told us that a newborn's arms flail around like a marionette's, that infants pull at their ears and eyes in their sleep and cause deep scratch marks to appear on their own faces. Nobody told us that their breathing sounds asthmatic, that sometimes their poop is as green as kryptonite, that they can remain asleep while they are thrashing about like the possessed Linda Blair in *The Exorcist*.

We need reassurance, but since our parents know nothing, where can we go? Well, now we've taken to getting advice from . . . each other. My wife and I are addicted to a website called *urbanbaby.com*. On one of its message boards, parents of newborns ask questions, which are then answered by other parents of newborns.

Here's one typical message: "Exclusively breast-fed daughter is 4 1/2 months and hasn't pooped in 5 days. I know this can be normal, but now this evening she seems really uncomfortable and is making some pretty stinky farts."

One person replied: "This happened to me once and I took my daughter's rectal temperature to make sure no fever—lo and behold it helped her make a BM."

Someone else noted that her pediatrician recommended exactly this method to help her child.

The people on the board are approximately 99.99 percent female, and they function as a terrific support system for each other. They complain about their mothers-in-law—said to be obsessed with the waistlines of their daughters-in-law—and either complain about how little their husbands are doing or brag about how much their husbands are doing.

There's another message board—for toddler parents. Here things get dark. People are having affairs, getting divorced, and indulging in vicious political fights (the Republican women are not shy about hitting back against the Bush-haters).

On the newborn board, everybody is very supportive. On the toddler board, people correct each other's grammar and spelling. On the newborn board, parents huddle together for warmth in a world turned upside down, where they think they know more than their parents. On the toddler board, moms have decided it's a cold, hard world out there, and it's every know-it-all expert for herself.

Maybe they need a hug from their own moms.

JOHN PODHORETZ

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Kerry's "Winter Soldier"

Regarding William Kristol's editorial "John Kerry, in His Own Words" (Sept. 6): It's clear from Kerry's 1971 Senate testimony that he did not know his American history. Kerry states: "The term 'Winter Soldier' is a play on words of Thomas Paine in 1776 when he spoke of the Sunshine Patriot and summertime soldiers who deserted at Valley Forge because the going was rough."

In actuality, Paine wrote "The American Crisis, Number 1" after the Continental Army lost New York and was retreating across New Jersey in late 1776. Washington's men camped at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-78.

Richard R. de Villiers
Miami, FL

Radical Youth

I commend Mackubin Thomas Owens for an excellent piece on John Kerry's antiwar activism ("Fahrenheit 1971," Sept. 6). In retrospect, I am especially bothered by Kerry's film footage of himself walking around Vietnam in his military gear, and strongly suspect the whole thing was staged for future political use. Kerry probably knew he'd one day be running for president.

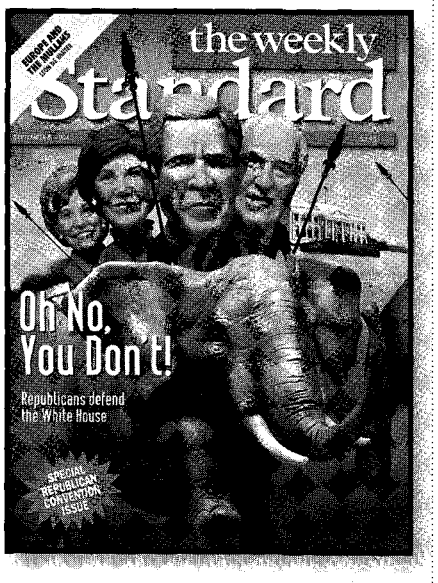
Unfortunately for Kerry, his broader record isn't very presidential. Leave aside his flip-flopping on Iraq. When you look at his 1971 Senate testimony, and his consistent opposition to new, innovative defense spending during the 1980s and 1990s, the idea of John Kerry becoming our president in a time of war is utterly frightening.

Caroline D. Mooney
Cohutta, GA

Mackubin Thomas Owens neatly divides protagonists in America's decades-long debate over the Vietnam war into two categories. "On the one side in this culture war," he writes, "are those who believe that Vietnam wasn't very different from other wars. . . . On the other side are those for whom the Vietnam war represented the very essence of evil."

Of course, this dichotomy creates some problems. We know into which category Owens places John Kerry, since Owens accuses Kerry of presenting "'Americanized' Soviet propaganda" in his 1971 Senate testimony.

But into which category would Owens place such major Vietnam policy figures as George Ball, William Bundy, and Robert McNamara? Each of these men helped prosecute the war effort from Washington, but then retrospectively criticized U.S. intervention. (In fact, Ball was a persistent critic of President Johnson's policy from the beginning.) All three—Ball, Bundy, and McNamara—would likely agree that Vietnam was indeed different from other wars. All three might say that, looking back, Vietnam was a strategic mistake in the broader context of waging the Cold War. But I doubt any of them would describe it



as "the very essence of evil."

Owens's Vietnam war dichotomy—while neatly tailored to fit the argument of his piece—is ultimately too simplistic.

Steve Wineberg
Exeter, NH

Samizdat & the Swifties

In his insightful article "The Not-So-Swift Mainstream Media" (Sept. 6), Jonathan V. Last mistakes the symptom for the cause. He is correct that the mainstream media have "been strong-armed into covering [the Swift boat story] by the 'new' media."

However, he does not explain why they had to be so "strong-armed." Simply put, John Kerry is their guy. They do not want to do anything that might hurt his campaign. That, above all, is why they are so unhappy about having to cover the Swift boat story.

If the mainstream media really wanted to serve as our bipartisan "watchdog" of truth, they would have investigated the Swifties' case as they are investigating George W. Bush's National Guard record.

Last is correct that the emergence of this "new" media—the blogosphere, talk radio, Fox News—has drastically transformed political coverage. It may well transform politics (if it hasn't already).

Joseph Krizsa
Tuscon, AZ

The Lambeau Legend

I enjoyed Stephen F. Hayes's "The Battle for Wisconsin" (Sept. 6). The "Lambert" Field anecdote is telling and will probably reverberate through the remainder of the campaign.

Hayes is incorrect, however, in writing that "the pseudo-thunderous voice of Chris Berman" first made the name Lambeau Field famous. When ESPN's Berman says "The Froooooozen Tunnnnnnnndra of Lambeau Field," he is merely imitating the well-known voice of John Facenda.

Facenda, the legendary narrator of NFL Films, is the one who has the deep voice and first spoke those immortal words.

John Carr
Chadds Ford, PA

Pulp Fiction

Gregory Feeley writes that "alternate history . . . hasn't often broken into movies" ("The Way It Wasn't," Sept. 6). Perhaps it seems so because, in recent years, filmmakers who dabble in this genre aren't honestly labeling their pieces as alternate histories, but are instead pawning them off as "documentaries." As a result, audiences are being fed imaginary stories that don't even merit the distinction of "historical fiction."

Take Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11*. If ever there was a film that obliged its

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director "to acknowledge the real world," as Feeley puts it, it was this one. But, of course, Moore did nothing of the sort. And, sadly, far too many moviegoers left the theater believing they'd seen a real historical documentary.

JIM FENSKE
Westlake, OH

GREGORY FEELEY really doesn't like the works of Harry Turtledove. Feeley's otherwise interesting tour of the alternate-history genre is marred by a snobbish preference for the obscure over the popular. His sneering dismissal of Turtledove's allegedly implausible premises in *The Guns of the South* and the World War II series makes me wonder why he even bothers with the genre, given as it is to such military what-ifs.

JIM FLADLAND
Williamsport, PA

BIG MAN ON CAMPUS

IN "NOTES FROM THE UNDERGRAD" (Sept. 6), Matthew Continetti nicely demonstrates John Kerry's abiding opposition to an interventionist U.S. foreign policy. But he made one small error in his discussion of Choate Rosemary Hall. While John F. Kennedy was, in fact, a graduate of Choate, Franklin Roosevelt was an alumnus of Groton School in Groton, Massachusetts.

RICHARD S. SCOTT
New York, NY

MATTHEW CONTINETTI makes some very interesting points in his discussion of John Kerry's antiwar college speeches. If Kerry had intellectually determined that the Vietnam war was a mistake as early as 1965, he was in the vanguard of political thought. I graduated from (public) high school in Connecticut in 1968. Those of us who opposed the war that early were a very small minority. The tide did not turn against the war until the summer of 1969.

But let me see if I get this straight. Kerry opposed the war in 1965-66. He later became famous as an antiwar activist when he returned from Vietnam in the early 1970s. Clearly he believes the war was fundamentally immoral.

So how, today, can he highlight his Vietnam service as his central qualification to be our commander in chief? Does he now think it was a just cause after all?

BOB NEVINS
Williston, VT

EUROPE'S IRAN CHIMERA

OUTSTANDING PIECE BY Leon de Winter on Europe and the Iranian mullahs ("Europe's Iran Fantasy," Sept. 6). Europeans—at least those in "Old Europe"—seem to believe that 9/11 was some kind of Hurricane Osama: a tragic but natural disaster that we must duly mourn and then move past. They don't understand we're engaged in a war with barbaric terrorists who want to kill us.

We need to resist this kind of thinking at home as well as in Europe. If we don't, how will we ever defeat our enemies?

BRIAN J. DUNN
Ann Arbor, MI

IN HIS PELLUCID ESSAY on the sad state of European policies toward Iran, Leon de Winter writes that "the most recent European evils" are "the right-wing totalitarian fascism of Nazi Germany and the left-wing totalitarian fascism of the Soviet Union."

This may seem a pedantic point, but Adolf Hitler was the leader of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Indeed, to use de Winter's language, Nazism and communism can *both* (arguably) be seen as examples of "left-wing totalitarian fascism."

WILLIAM S. ARONSTEIN
Glendale, OH

NEW DOCTRINE, OLD IDEA

REGARDING MAX BOOT'S excellent "Less Respect, More Success" (Sept. 6): Senator John Kerry's less-respected-in-the-world-under-Bush line resonates with voters largely because of a misunderstanding of the Bush Doctrine.

As Yale professor John Lewis Gaddis has written, the Bush Doctrine of preemption sounds foreign to American ears because it represents a formal change in policy. But despite what its detractors say, the Bush policy is not really a sharp break with historical precedent. Indeed, as Gaddis notes, U.S. leaders have reserved the right of preemption (albeit not always officially) since at least 1814.

DAVID D. BEGLEY
Omaha, NE

THE LAUGH OF KHAN

HERE I LAY, crumpled up in the fetal position next to my desk, having just read Katherine Mangu-Ward's brilliant "Khan Woman" (CASUAL, Sept. 6). It was a comedic masterpiece.

What else can I say, when confronted with the "original sin" of the creation narratives so deliciously presented by none other than the Princess Khatun Mangu(-Ward)? Deep theological discussion such as this is what keeps me reading THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

Following Mangu-Ward's advice, I am now headed to my local library to check on the "L" index in the *Britannica*. Thank you, Princess Khatun.

JOHN LEONARD
Englewood, CO

THE PARANOID STYLE

I WANT TO APPLAUD Noemie Emery's article "A Conspiracy Too Vast" (Sept. 6). Her descriptions of Democratic paranoia are as funny as they are accurate.

When, years ago, Richard Hofstadter published his essay "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," he was referring to the American right. But today, as Emery demonstrates, it is the left wing of American politics that is more indulgent of conspiracy theories.

RICK JOHNSON
Cheshire, CT

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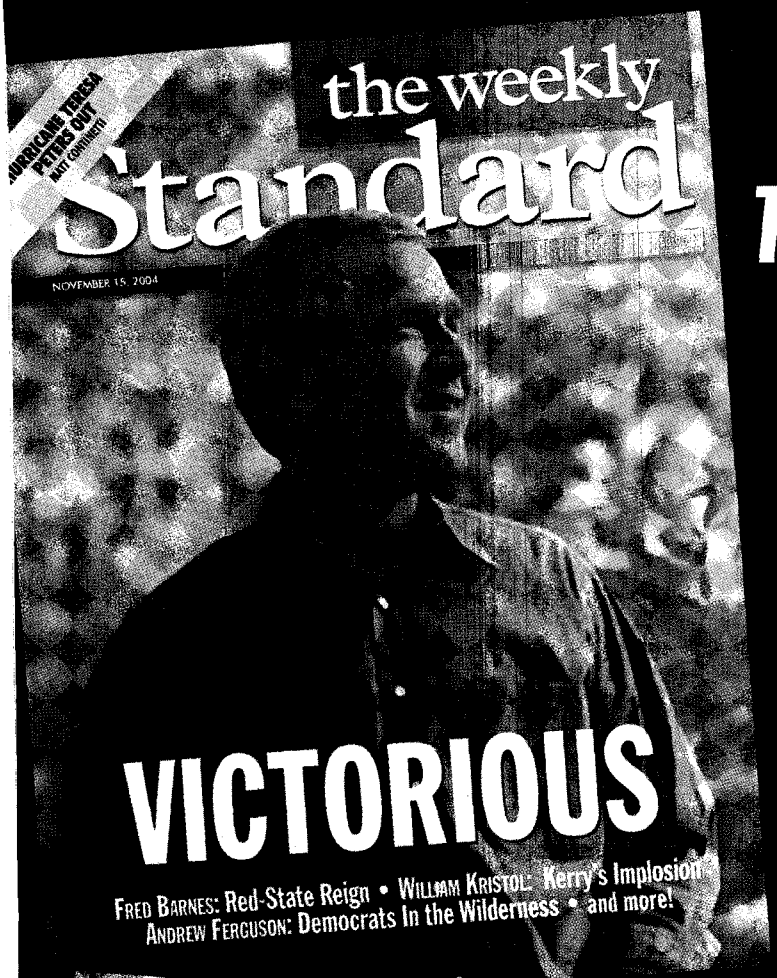

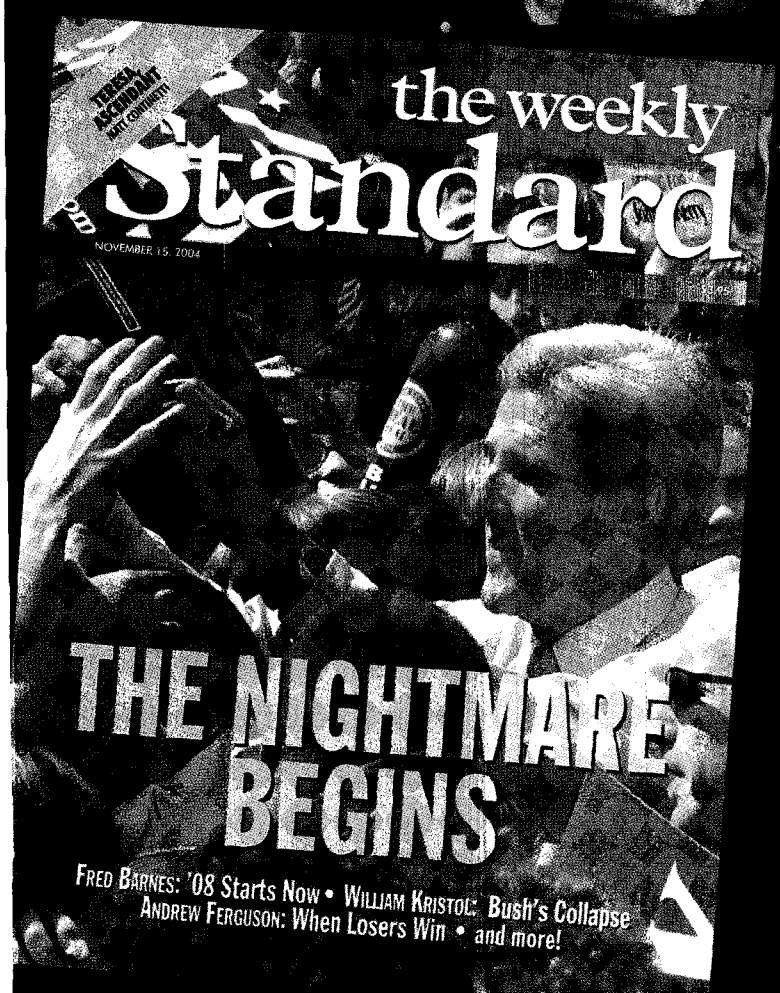

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the weekly Standard

Taking Flip-Flops Seriously

"I said at the time I would have preferred if we had given diplomacy a greater opportunity, but I think it was the right decision to disarm Saddam Hussein. And when the president made the decision, I supported him, and I support the fact that we did disarm him."

John F. Kerry, May 3, 2003

"Those who doubted whether Iraq or the world would be better off without Saddam Hussein, and those who believe that we are not safer with his capture, don't have the judgment to be president or the credibility to be elected president."

December 16, 2003

"Yes, I would have voted for the authority. I believe it's the right authority for a president to have. But I would have used that authority as I have said throughout this campaign, effectively."

August 9, 2004

Iraq was "the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time."

September 6, 2004

"We should not send more American troops. That would be the worst thing."

John F. Kerry, September 4, 2003

"If it requires more troops . . . that's what you have to do."

April 18, 2004

"I will have significant, enormous reduction in the level of troops."

August 1, 2004

"We're going to get our troops home where they belong."

August 6, 2004

"We should increase funding [for the war in Iraq] by whatever number of billions of dollars it takes to win."

John F. Kerry, August 31, 2003

"$200 billion [for Iraq] that we're not investing in education and health care, and job creation here at home. . . . That's the wrong choice."

September 8, 2004

The John Kerry "flip-flop" has been a humorous leitmotif of this campaign. But we single out these particular reversals because they are too important to be merely funny or to be chalked up simply to an inability of the Kerry campaign to "hone" its "message." Nor is the real problem simply Kerry's inability to make up his mind. Rather it is that on fundamental matters of war and peace, and on the major strategic and tactical questions that follow from them—such as how many troops to send and how much money to commit to a conflict—John Kerry will not or cannot hold to a position under pressure.

Kerry voted to authorize war in Iraq in the fall of 2002 because he was afraid a vote against the resolution would ruin his chances to become president. He voted against the $87 billion to support the forces in Iraq and Afghanistan in the fall of 2003—when Howard Dean was riding high— because he was afraid that he couldn't win over Democratic primary voters if he seemed to be supporting the war. After the capture of Saddam Hussein, Kerry briefly returned to a hawkish stance and criticized Dean when it seemed that distinguishing himself from Dean's excessive dovishness would be politically beneficial. Now, after a dip in the polls against President Bush, Kerry has come out against the war and against the money spent on the war, because he is afraid that he cannot win running as a quasi-hawk. We understand that many people don't like President Bush. But can there be anyone out there, Democrat or Republican, who does not honestly worry: If this is how John Kerry behaves during the campaign, how would he react to the real pressures of being president and commander in chief?

Readers of THE WEEKLY STANDARD know that we have not been great admirers of the way the Bush administration, and especially the Pentagon, has conducted operations in Iraq since the end of the successful invasion a year ago last spring. Still, in some respects, things in Iraq have gone better than might have been expected. Most promising has been the evident commitment on the part of the Iraqi people to persevere in the effort to build democracy in the face of the many difficult challenges that confront them. The recent settlement of the Najaf crisis demonstrated great will and courage on the part of both American military forces and Iraqi authorities, including Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, Iraq's leading Shiite cleric. In other respects, however, there remain reasons for concern. Above all, there are the

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problems of Falluja and the Iraqi areas that were ceded to insurgents and terrorists earlier this year. With national elections scheduled for January, these problems must be addressed urgently.

What should be beyond doubt is the vital necessity of succeeding in Iraq. Partly we have a profound moral obligation to the Iraqi people: To betray them by premature withdrawal or insufficient support would be a shameful act. And if you think the world is unhappy with us now, wait until the world sees the United States pull out of Iraq, leaving behind either chaos, a terrorist base, civil conflict, a regional war, or, very likely, all of the above. Nor can there be any doubt that failure in Iraq would constitute a strategic defeat in the larger war on terror.

Given this reality, it seems to us there has always been a responsible and defensible stance for a Democratic presidential candidate to take. It would be the position taken, for example, by Senators Joseph Biden, Evan Bayh, and Joseph Lieberman—supportive of the war but critical when necessary. Each has been unwavering on the importance of rebuilding Iraq. Each supported the $87 billion supplemental for Iraq and Afghanistan. Each has expressed unhappiness with the Bush administration, while insisting that the United States must remain committed to achieving success in Iraq. These senators are not alone. This is also the view of much of the Democratic foreign policy establishment. It is the view of most former Clinton administration officials, people like Sandy Berger, Richard Holbrooke, and Thomas Donilon.

Unfortunately, it is not currently the view of John Kerry. Maybe Kerry will change his position again, under a different set of pressures. But that won't alter the fundamental truth about his character. If Kerry can throw Iraq overboard in this campaign, he will do so as president. It is that lack of commitment today, much more than anything in his past, that makes John Kerry unfit for command.

—Robert Kagan and William Kristol

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Rather Flawed

New evidence emerges of media incompetence.

BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

LAST WEDNESDAY, CBS News's *60 Minutes II* aired a report that strongly challenged George W. Bush's service in the National Guard. It's a story that has been explored dozens of times in the past five years. Two things in the *60 Minutes II* story made it fresh—or, in newsroom parlance, gave it a peg. Ben Barnes, who served as attorney general in Texas at the time of Bush's service, claimed that he had been pressured to help Bush avoid going to Vietnam. But there were problems with Barnes's story, not least that he had previously, and rather specifically, denied the account he gave on *60 Minutes II*. (Republicans questioned Barnes's motive, too, pointing out that he is a lifelong Democrat who has raised significant money for John Kerry's presidential campaign.)

The second news peg was more important. *60 Minutes II* had obtained "new documents" from the "personal files" of the late Jerry Killian, Bush's commanding officer. That the documents were unearthed some 32 years after the activities they describe must have greatly excited the CBS producers who worked on the story.

According to an *Associated Press* story, the Killian memos "say Mr. Bush ignored a direct order from a superior officer and lost his status as a Guard pilot because he failed to meet military performance standards and undergo a required physical exam."

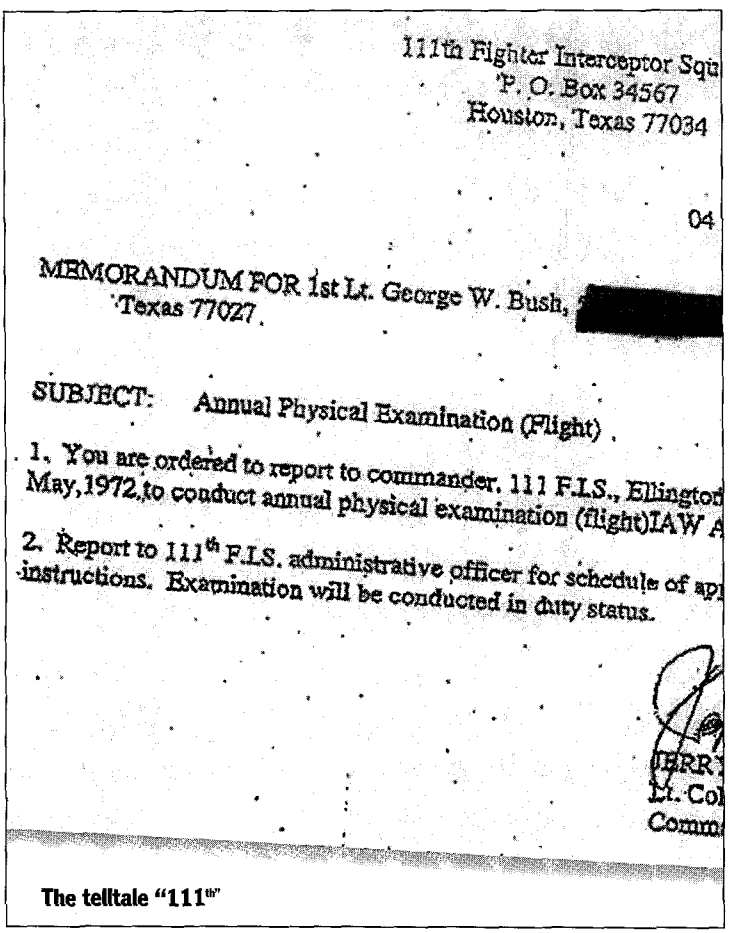
If accurate, then, the memos would provide documentary evidence to support the long-circling rumors that Bush received preferential treatment to get out of serving in Vietnam.

But almost immediately, the authenticity of the typed memos was questioned. Although CBS claimed to have had them reviewed by document experts, numerous forensic document examiners interviewed last Thursday by THE WEEKLY STANDARD and several other media outlets concluded that the documents were likely forgeries.

"These sure look like forgeries," said William Flynn, a forensic document expert widely considered the nation's top analyst of computer-generated documents. Flynn looked at copies of the documents posted on the CBS News website. "I would say it looks very likely that these documents could not have existed" in the early 1970s, he says, when they were allegedly written.

Several other experts agreed. "They look mighty suspicious," said a veteran forensic document expert who asked not to be quoted by name. Richard Polt, a Xavier University philosophy professor who operates a website dedicated to the history of typewriters, said that while he is not an expert on typesetting, the documents "look like typical word-processed documents." He adds: "I'm a Kerry supporter myself, but I won't let that cloud my objective judgment: I'm 99 percent sure that these documents were not produced in the early 1970s."

Philip Bouffard, another document expert who plans to vote for Kerry, reviewed the documents at the request of Bill Ardolino, a weblogger who runs *INDC Journal*. Says Bouffard: "It is remotely possible there is some typewriter that has the capability to do all this . . . but it is more likely these documents were generated in the common Times New Roman font and printed out on a computer printer that did not exist at the time they were supposedly created."



111th Fighter Interceptor Squ
P. O. Box 34567
Houston, Texas 77034

04

MEMORANDUM FOR 1st Lt. George W. Bush, [redacted]
Texas 77027

SUBJECT: Annual Physical Examination (Flight)

1. You are ordered to report to commander, 111 F.I.S., Ellingto
May, 1972, to conduct annual physical examination (flight) IAW A

2. Report to 111th F.I.S. administrative officer for schedule of ap
instructions. Examination will be conducted in duty status.

JERR
Lt. Col
Comm

The telltale "111th"

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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Sandra Ramsey Lines, a document expert from Arizona, told the Associated Press: "I'm virtually certain these were computer-generated."

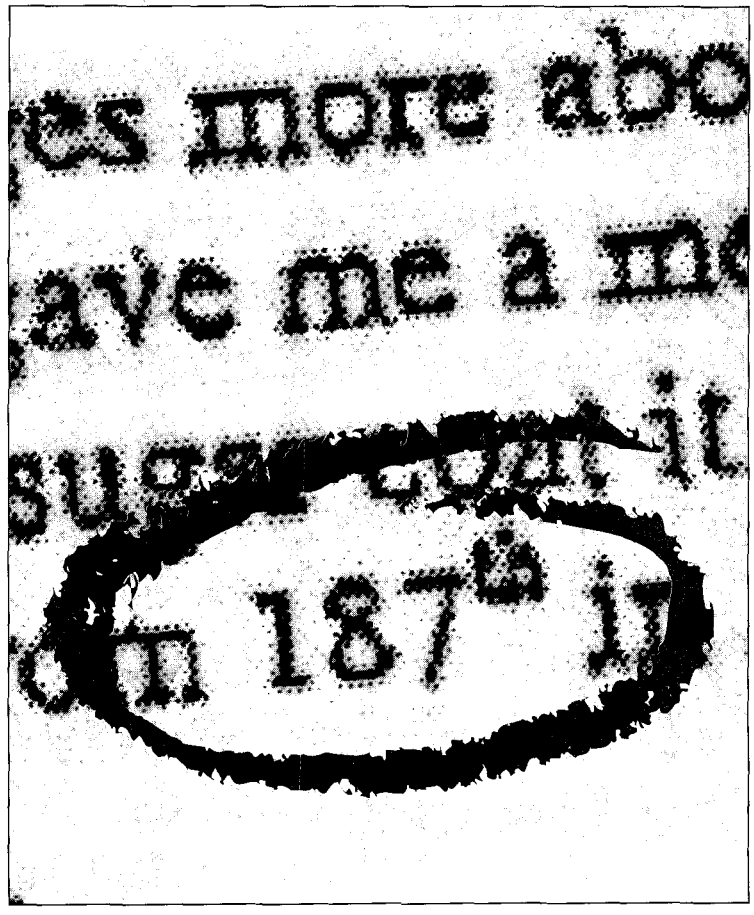
The experts pointed to numerous irregularities in the Killian memos that aroused their suspicions. First, the typographic spacing is proportional, as is routine with professional typesetting and computer typography, not monospace, as was common in typewriters in the 1970s. (In proportional type, thin letters like "i" and "l" are closer together than thick letters like "W" and "M". In monospace, all the letters are allotted the same space.)

Second, the font appears to be identical to the Times New Roman font that is the default typeface in Microsoft Word and other modern word-processing programs. According to Flynn, the font is not listed in the *Haas Atlas*—the definitive encyclopedia of typewriter type fonts.

Third, the apostrophes are curlicues of the sort produced by word processors on personal computers, not the straight vertical hashmarks typical of typewriters. Finally, in some references to Bush's unit—the 111th Fighter Interceptor Squadron—the "th" is a superscript in a smaller size than the other type. Again, this is typical (and often automatic) in modern word-processing programs.

There are also problems with the substance of the memos Killian allegedly authored. One of the memos, dated May 19, 1972, recounts a telephone conversation Killian is to have had with Bush. "I advised him of our investment in him and his commitment. I also told him I had to have written acceptance before he would be transferred, but think he's also talking to someone upstairs."

But as Byron York of *National Review* points out, Killian signed off on a "glowing report" about Bush on May 26, 1972, just one week later. Lt. Col. William D. Harris authored the memo praising Bush. "Lt. Bush is an exceptional fighter interceptor pilot and officer," it read. "He eagerly participates in scheduled unit activities." Killian signed below a statement indicating he agreed with Harris. "I concur with the comments and ratings of the reporting official."



Killian's son and widow also claim that Bush's commanding officer liked Bush and would have been unlikely to have authored the memos. "It just wouldn't happen," Gary Killian told the AP.

Despite these questions, CBS News anchor Dan Rather strongly defended the reporting on Friday's *Evening News*, and lashed out at those who would question CBS's reporting. "Today, on the Internet and elsewhere, some people—including many who are partisan political operatives—concentrated not on the key questions the overall story raised but on the documents that were part of the support of the story." After a long but relatively thin attempt at refuting the charges against CBS, Rather ended this way: "If any definitive evidence to the contrary of our story is found, we will report it. So far, there is none."

There are several steps CBS could take to clarify the situation.

(1) Obtain the original memos. CBS based its reporting on photocopies. If CBS can produce the original memos, both the paper and the ink can be accurately dated. And the paper can be checked for the indentations made by a typewriter.

(2) Produce other documents written by Killian around the same time that have the same characteristics as the documents in question.

(3) Find *any* typewriter from the early 1970s capable of producing replicas of the Killian memos. Several experts have already recreated the memos using Microsoft Word. Surely if the documents are authentic, somewhere there is a typewriter that can reproduce them.

If CBS can't provide more definitive evidence of the authenticity of the memos, its anchor will live to regret these words posted late Friday by Instapundit, Glenn Reynolds:

"To err is human but to really foul up requires a computer."

Who said them? Dan Rather. ♦

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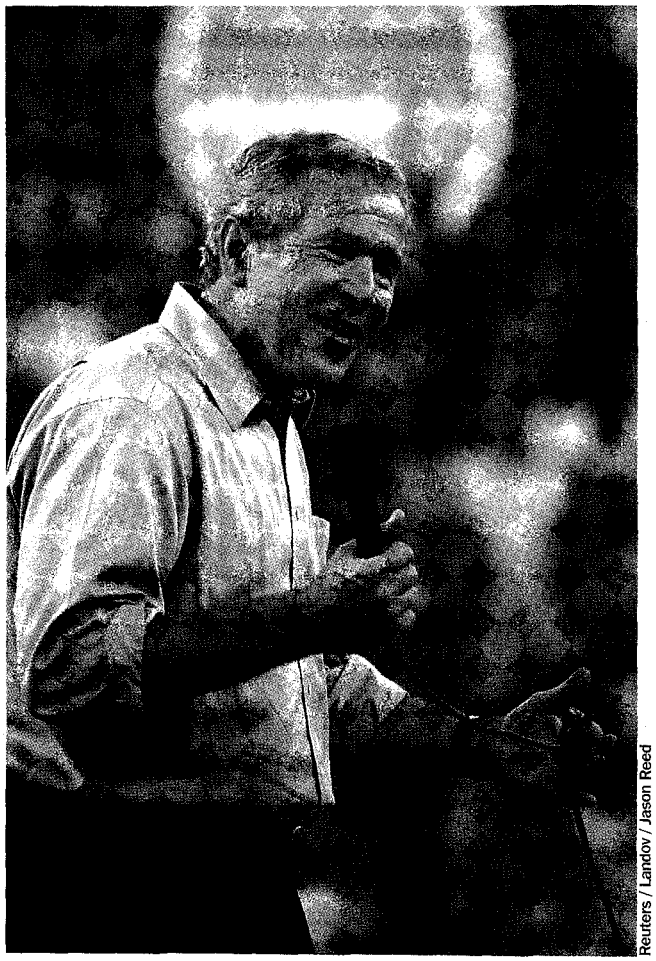
The Luck of the President

Bush's lead is more than a convention bounce.

BY FRED BARNES

BETTER TO BE LUCKY than good. That's an old baseball saying that applies as well to President Bush's reelection campaign. First CBS News—then the entire mainstream media—plays up damaging documents about Bush's National Guard service. But within hours, thanks to bloggers and not to any effort by Bush or his passive White House staff, the documents are exposed as forgeries. Next, the press is poised to promote a book accusing the president of having snorted cocaine at Camp David when his father was president. Again without the intervention of Bush, the White House, or the Bush campaign, the story unravels as the supposed source of the charge categorically repudiates it. And there's an even greater bit of luck for Bush. He has John Kerry as his opponent.

Bush has history on his side: An incumbent president who emerges after Labor Day with a lead almost always wins. And Bush has a real lead, not simply a bounce in opinion polls produced by a successful Republican convention. How do we know this? Because Bush was gaining measurably in the race before the convention. His job performance rating had crossed the key threshold of 50 percent in numerous surveys. Bush advanced in the Gallup Poll from a Kerry lead of 49 to 45 percent in mid-July and 50 to 47 percent in late July to a Bush advantage of 48 to 47 percent in mid-August and 50 to 47 percent the week before the convention. After the convention the lead had increased to seven points.



Reuters / Landov / Jason Reed

Post-convention, the Bush campaign is exactly where it hoped to be. The president's lead over Kerry has given him the luxury of sticking to his campaign plan. He'll spend September talking up his domestic agenda for a second term. The first half of October is to be devoted to debates (probably two) with Kerry. And the last two weeks are the finishing kick of the campaign. Along the way, Bush will address any national security issues like Iraq that may arise. But Vice President Dick Cheney will provide the tough talk on combating terrorism.

To the surprise of many, Bush has actually honed an effective economic message with interesting specifics, numbers, and comparisons. For instance, did you know that the 1.7 million jobs added in the past year in the United States "is more than [the jobs created in] Germany, Japan, Great Britain, Canada, and France combined?" Bush noted this in Colmar, Pennsylvania, last week. He also addressed the "subchapter S" issue: Under this section of the tax code, 90 percent of small business owners pay at the income tax rate, not the corporate rate. And since "70 percent of new jobs in America are created by small businesses," Kerry's plan to raise taxes on the two top brackets would be a tax on "job creators," Bush said. "It doesn't make sense."

By contrast, Kerry is tongue-tied. He won't talk to national reporters covering his campaign for fear of being asked about his claim of spending Christmas Eve 1968 in Cambodia. Nor will he sit down for questioning by columnists or commentators knowledgeable about foreign policy because he's bound to contradict his earlier statements. And not since Jimmy Carter in 1980 has a Democratic nominee been more unpopular with his base voters. I spent an evening

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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last week at an event with Jewish voters, the majority of them Democrats. They dislike Bush, but have nothing but complaints about Kerry, mostly on foreign policy.

Kerry has done one important thing right. He's rejected former President Clinton's advice to concentrate almost exclusively on domestic issues. He can't win the Clinton way. The economy is in good shape and getting better. Health care always polls well for Democrats, but it's a mirage. It never produces the wave of votes Democrats expect. The reason is simple. The health care issue is tied to the economy. When the economy is bad, concerns about the cost of health care soar. When the economy is good, concerns fade. By itself, health care is rarely a voting issue.

Kerry understands that Iraq is the one issue that matters. In wartime, all other issues are linked to it. As Jeffrey Bell has pointed out, approval of the president's handling of the economy rises and falls with how people feel about progress in Iraq. War trumps everything. This is a historical truism. The economy was fine in 1952, but President Truman was forced to abandon his race for reelection because the Korean War was going poorly. Vietnam made President Johnson give up reelection plans in 1968. Abraham Lincoln won reelection in 1864 not because of a surge in job creation but because the Civil War turned to the Union's advantage with the capture of Atlanta.

The Iraq problem for Kerry is that he's compromised on the issue. He's both for the war and against it. He says dumb things about it, such as insisting the war's costs have forced cutbacks in after-school programs. He can't argue the Iraq issue into a lead over Bush. He needs an external event, a large piece of very bad news coming out of Iraq. The 1,000th death of an American soldier in Iraq wasn't enough. Kerry is still alive in the presidential race chiefly because something far worse may yet happen in Iraq before November 2. But if Bush's luck holds, it won't. ♦

A Not-So-Phony Coalition

Does Kerry think insults will win allies?

BY GERARD BAKER

LAST NOVEMBER, suicide bombers killed 19 Italians stationed at a military police barracks in Nasiriyah, southern Iraq. It was the largest single-incident loss of life for the Italian military since the Second World War, and the shock and pain that reverberated through the country was palpable. Hundreds of thousands of mourners paid tribute at a memorial service in Rome. President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi cut short a visit to the United States to return home.

Inevitably, the tragedy led some Italian politicians to call for the withdrawal of the country's forces from Iraq. The war was never popular with Italians, and such a setback might have resulted in an early exit.

But the defiant mood of the country was better captured by Cardinal Camillo Ruini at the massive and moving memorial service. He said terrorists would not defeat Italy's spirit: "We will not flee from them. Rather we will confront them with all the courage, energy, and determination that we are capable of." Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's government stood firm. Acknowledging the gravity of the loss and articulating the nation's pain, Berlusconi also gave a ringing defense of Italy's commitment to the struggle in Iraq.

"We feel pride for the courage and humanity with which our troops . . . have worked, and still work, to make the situation tolerable for children, women, the elderly, and the weak who live in that martyred region," he said.

Gerard Baker is the U.S. editor of The Times *of London and a contributing editor to* THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

Today, almost a year after the tragedy, more than 2,700 Italian military personnel are still in Iraq, still gallantly striving to make that country's life more tolerable.

But John Kerry doesn't share the Italians' pride in the gallantry of their soldiers, it would seem.

Instead he prefers to mock the role played by the Italians and all the foreign military in Iraq, and to insult the governments who support the United States.

Last year, during the early stages of the Democratic primary, Senator Kerry told supporters that the more than 30 nations in the international operation to remove Saddam Hussein represented a "trumped-up, so-called coalition of the bribed, the coerced, the bought, and the extorted."

Evidently pleased with this formulation, Kerry revisited it last week. Promising again to build a real coalition to replace the current one in Iraq, he heaped contempt on the efforts of those countries already there.

"When they talk about a coalition—that's the phoniest thing I ever heard," Kerry said at a rally in Pennsylvania. "You've got 500 troops here, 500 troops there, and it's American troops that are 90 percent of the combat casualties, and it's American taxpayers that are paying 90 percent of the cost of the war."

Not for the first time, Kerry's facts were a bit wayward. In addition to Italy, Britain still has 8,000 troops in Iraq, Poland has 2,400, Ukraine 1,500, the Netherlands 1,400, Romania 700, and South Korea 600.

It is true that these are small numbers compared with the vast U.S.

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force. But most of these nations are already supporting U.S.-led operations in Afghanistan and, given in many cases their exiguous defense budgets, their contributions are not insignificant to the countries themselves. And, strikingly, despite Kerry's scorn, they have borne a sizable, roughly proportionate burden of total casualties. The United States has lost 1,000 servicemen and women; but the allies have between them lost more than 150, including, in addition to the Italians, 64 British, 10 Poles, 12 Spanish (whose government has since departed the coalition), and seven Ukrainians.

Meaningless to Kerry, of course. All just "window-dressing," in another of the senator's memorable recent phrases, designed to prettify President Bush's "unilateral" war.

It is odd to hear a candidate who has made rebuilding relations with America's allies a central part of his campaign platform so casually dismiss the efforts of so many of those allies.

It has become a trope of the Bush-loathing left to note scornfully the inclusion of such counties as the Marshall Islands and Micronesia in President Bush's coalition of the willing.

But far from being small nations supposedly coerced or bribed, many of the countries represented in Iraq are in fact America's longest-standing and most reliable friends, countries that stood shoulder to shoulder with U.S. forces in two world wars, in Korea, and in the first Gulf War. Troops have been sent from a clear majority of NATO members, including the recently liberated countries of Eastern Europe, such as Poland, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and from America's trusty ally in the wars of the Pacific for the last half century, Australia.

Kerry has unfortunately declined to enumerate which members of this coalition he thinks have been coerced, which bribed, which bought, and which extorted. Since these are countries that have demonstrated repeatedly over the years their willingness to bear burdens to support the United States, he should surely elaborate. Or perhaps he should simply echo President Bush when he said in his acceptance speech at the Republican convention: "I respect every soldier, from every country, who serves beside us in the hard work of history. America is grateful, and America will not forget."

In fact, in dissing so comprehensively the role played by America's allies in Iraq, Kerry is placing himself firmly in the minority camp in the transatlantic alliance, that led by France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, who have not been, shall we say, always in the forefront of nations lining up to assist the United States. In this, he also sides with Germany, whose chancellor secured his reelection two years ago by denigrating American leadership.

Yet, somehow, Senator Kerry tells us he is going to be successful in getting more foreign troops into Iraq. His entire strategy, if it can be dignified with that name, for dealing with the war in Iraq is to get foreign troops in and U.S. troops out. Who does he think will agree to replace Americans, Brits, Poles, and Italians?

Does he really think there are tens of thousands of battle-ready French, German, and Belgian troops willing to go storming into Falluja at the first request from President Kerry? Maybe he's got bigger plans to bribe and coerce those countries.

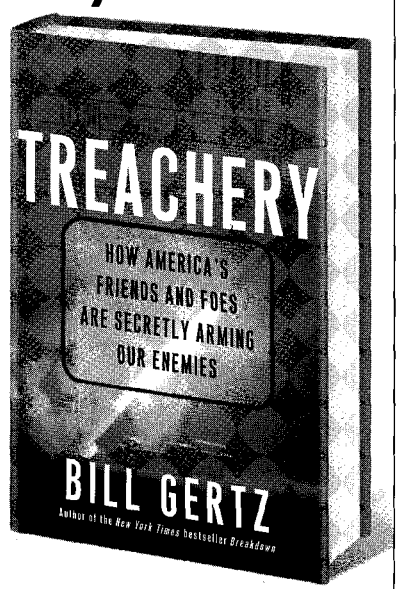
What's more, Kerry's grand promises to create a bigger and better coalition than the one created by President Bush rings a bit hollow when one remembers that his past is not exactly the picture of a master coalition-builder.

In 1991, even as British, French (yes, French), Italian, Syrian, Saudi, and other troops were moving to battle positions in the Gulf in Operation Desert Storm, Senator Kerry was voting against authorizing the first President Bush to assemble and lead that coalition.

In the 1980s, when America's allies in Europe, Britain's Margaret Thatcher, Germany's Helmut Kohl, and even France's François Mitterrand were urging Ronald Reagan to press ahead

From the bestselling author of *Breakdown* and *Betrayal*

The greatest threat to national security? *It's not who you think.*



- Iraqi insurgents are killing U.S. soldiers with weapons supplied by France, Germany, and Russia.
- Al Qaeda bought arms from China *after* 9/11.
- Our "allies" continue to arm known nuclear threats like Iran and North Korea.

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with the deployment of intermediate nuclear forces in Europe, Senator Kerry was calling for a nuclear freeze, aligning himself with the one-sided disarmers in Europe and around the world who would have tilted the balance on the old continent decisively the way of the Warsaw Pact.

But there's one more reason why it is so galling to hear Kerry besmirch the honor of those governments and their servicemen who are fighting in Iraq.

Kerry himself, last time I looked—and I'll admit this is a moving target—supported the war resolution in October 2002. He praised the conduct of the war as it unfolded in 2003, and just a few weeks ago he insisted that, even if he had known two years ago that no stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction would be found in Iraq, he would still have supported the use of force there.

In other words, he came to the very same conclusion that Tony Blair, Silvio Berlusconi, Australia's John Howard, and 40 other leaders came to—that Saddam had to be confronted and disarmed.

But there was one big difference—and it was not that those leaders were coerced or bribed.

Kerry supported the war when it was politically expedient for him to do so.

Opinion polls in late 2002 showed a large majority of the American public supported the use of force against Iraq. And because his consistent antiwar stance over 30 years made Kerry a highly vulnerable presidential contender, he needed to support the president in order to preserve his political viability.

Blair, Berlusconi, Howard, José María Aznar of Spain, and the others had no such luxury. They all had to confront strongly hostile public opinion. Several laid their jobs on the line in order to support President Bush—and in Aznar's case, doing so cost him his job.

Such leadership in the teeth of powerful opposition is something Kerry might want to emulate rather than deride. ♦

One War, Many Fronts

The attacks on Russia are attacks on us, too.

BY FREDERICK W. KAGAN

As AMERICAN POLITICIANS point fingers and question one another's qualifications for leading a war on terror, as Europeans and Americans hurl mutual recriminations about the war in Iraq, the terrorists have been acting. Radical Islamists have struck Spain, forcing a change of government there. They have attacked the citizens of many of the countries supporting American efforts to create a democratic Iraq. They have seized French hostages to force France to rescind one of its laws. And they have killed more than 500 Russians in a week and a half, demanding Russia's recognition of the secession of Chechnya. There should be no doubt on either side of the Atlantic that the Western world is engaged in a deadly war, or that attacks on one are attacks on all. Neither should there be any doubt that only the sort of forceful and aggressive response the Bush administration has launched has any hope of success in this conflict.

The Russian people have been battered by a series of attacks that are nearing the scale and horror of September 11—half of the 330 known dead in the Beslan outrage were schoolchildren, who were starved and deprived of water for more than two days before being killed. And the Russians have noticed that America has not suffered another terrorist attack since 9/11. As a Russian policeman observed dourly after the tragedy, according to the *New York Times*, "In the United States, after September 11, there were not any more attacks. Here they have not done anything. We get kicked from all sides."

Russian president Vladimir Putin has more or less acknowledged that his strategy of focusing on the political aspects of the Chechnya problem has failed and his country is once again at war. He implicitly praised the U.S. response to 9/11 under Bush's leadership, noting, "Events in other countries prove that terrorists meet the most effective rebuff where they confront not only the power of the state, but also an organized and united civil society." He seemed to recognize, finally, that Russia's previous anti-American truculence may have been misplaced: "We have to admit that we failed to recognize the complexity and danger of the processes going on in our country and the world as a whole." Russia has paid a hideous price for these failures.

The horrible attacks on Russia are attacks on us, too. Russia is a young, not entirely stable state whose growing democracy is in constant danger. Attacks of the magnitude we have just witnessed are likely to lead to further erosion both of stability and of democracy. They may also goad the Russians into retaliation that exceeds acceptable bounds if Putin lashes out against the Chechens in the heat of his emotions and fears. Such excessive retaliation can, in turn, help fill the ranks of radical Islamist organizations. Just as the Russians must recognize that their differences with us are trivial compared with the joint dangers we face, we must recognize that their fight against terrorists is indivisible from our own.

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Reuters / Landov

A volunteer carries a small child from the school in Beslan, September 3, 2004.

Even the French have had to see that their efforts to distance themselves from America's policies in the Middle East have not brought the hoped-for result. The seizure of French hostages and Zarqawi's declaration of war on France in response to the French ban on Muslim headscarves in public schools emphasize the fact that opposition to American policies is not enough to secure safety in this ideological war. Whatever the wisdom of the headscarf law, the world must know that the radical Islamists are not simply responding to attacks on Muslims in the Middle East. They believe they have the right to censor and oppose by vicious violence even peaceful measures that the democratic states of the West adopt in their own lands. The French were wise to refuse to rescind their law in response to such a threat, and they were fortunate this time to have defused the crisis without loss of life. They may not be so fortunate the next time.

Above all, these recent events should remind Americans and Europeans both that radical Islamist attacks do not result purely and simply from American aggression. Even states like Russia and France that have categorically opposed U.S. actions in the Middle East have become targets and victims because of their own policies. Attempts to deflect the terrorists have not worked. Political engagement has not worked. Diplomacy has not worked. So far, the only thing that has worked has been aggressive efforts to root out and destroy terrorist organizations in Afghanistan and Iraq and aggressive measures to secure our homeland. Americans should be cautious in congratulating themselves, for another attack can come tomorrow and our defenses will never be 100 percent complete. Nor can we claim to have adopted the best possible approaches to our wars and diplomacy over the past few years.

But the events of recent weeks have shown clearly that the simplistic approaches and criticisms coming from the Kerry camp are far less likely to succeed than the more complex and sophisticated strategy the Bush administration has pursued. The right program is not, as Kerry says, to "internationalize" the coalition in Iraq, to be cautious and defensive in the use of our power, to ensure that we move in lock step with other states that, quite wrongly, do not feel themselves as threatened as we do. The right strategy is to attack the terrorists where they live and train, to pressure their sponsors to stop supporting them, to build up our defenses at home and abroad, and to be willing to fight to prevent attacks on our homeland. This is the essence of the Bush strategy in the war on terror, supported by the president's single-minded determination to protect Americans' security. It is the only strategy, as events have shown, that has any hope of success. ♦

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The Road from Riyadh to Beslan

How Islamist radicals hijacked the Chechen separatist movement. BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

THREE ROADS led to the horror at Beslan in the Russian republic of North Ossetia, in which at least 330 people, most of them children, died: one road beginning in Grozny, the capital of neighboring Chechnya; one road beginning in Moscow, to the north; and one road beginning in Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, far to the south. Americans need to know how such frightful events are connected to the global war on terror, and the degree to which they must threaten our own peace of mind.

The main culprits in Beslan were Islamic extremists. Since at least 1999, these violent fanatics, with backing from the Wahhabi sect of Saudi Arabia and financial support from radicals throughout the global Muslim community, have assiduously agitated to take over the Chechen national movement (about which more in a moment).

The participation of "Arabs"—meaning Saudis and other Wahhabi-influenced Muslim foreigners—is a constant in reportage and comment on Beslan and earlier terrorist incidents in Chechnya, as well as in neighboring Ingushetia, in Georgia, and in Russia itself. The majority of Chechens, most of whom want only to be left alone, are not avid for the Wahhabi offensive, which is one reason most attacks now take place outside Chechnya.

Meanwhile, the Islamists hope to exploit old rivalries between the Chechens, Ingushes, and other Muslim peoples of the Caucasus mountains and their Christian neighbors, including the majority of Ossetians. In Russian and Soviet history, Chechens were always the arch-opponents of Russian penetration into the mountains, and the Ossetians the most enthusiastic Russian supporters.

Al Qaeda-promoting websites accessible almost anywhere are replete with propaganda extolling terrorism against innocents in Russia, exalting suicide bombers, and seeking to intoxicate Muslim youth with the glamour of dying in the Chechen campaign (see, for example, *www.islamicawakening.com/viewarticle.php?articleID=1059&*). In mosques across the globe, from New York to Nairobi, Wahhabi extremists collect money and recruits for combat in Chechnya, which at times overshadows Iraq as a symbol of so-called martyrdom.

To cite an example on American soil, the 25th National Convention of the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), a front for the radical Jamaat-i-Islami in Pakistan, was held in 2000 in Baltimore. There, Tayyib Yunus, head of the group's youth section, complained, "We all want to see our youth to succeed to become doctors, to become engineers; but how many of you can actually say that you want to send your sons to *jihad*, to Chechnya? How many of you can actually say that you want to send your youth to fight in *jihad*?" Chechen advocates claim that money collected in mosques in America and other Western countries never reaches the Caucasus.

Wherever al Qaeda and its supporters operate—which means wherever Wahhabis are to be found, including in the United States—atrocities like those in Beslan may occur. Why should a conspiracy capable of the attacks of September 11, 2001, known to have been plotting the use of nuclear dirty bombs, and guilty of bloodshed from the nightclub bombing in Bali to the Madrid metro massacre shrink from taking children hostage anywhere? To defeat the perpetrators of Beslan and its like must be the goal of all who would protect civilization. Yet two questions must be posed: How can we defeat the terrorists? And, is Russia under Putin truly an ally in the struggle?

The Wahhabi conspiracy that has taken over a section of the Chechen movement is controlled from Riyadh. To stop another Beslan from occurring, the United States and other leaders in the global war should do everything necessary to terminate al Qaeda, capture bin Laden and his command staff, and quiet the storm in Falluja. That is, they must force the rich Saudis and Saudi state institutions to halt their international promotion of Wahhabism. Notably, the terror-financing charities operating in the Chechen refugee camps in Ingushetia must be dismantled.

Action by President Bush calling the Saudis to order on this matter would be more effective than waiting while Vladimir Putin further mishandles a problem that the Russians have never been able to deal with. The Russians respond to such challenges by attempting to manipulate them for political purposes, rather than by trying to save lives and catch terrorists. In dealing with al Qaeda and its allies, Russia can be as slippery an ally as the Saudi kingdom.

Historically, the conflict between Russian power and the Caucasian Muslims, of whom the Chechens are the largest group, dates back more than a century and a half. For a useful glimpse of how the original Russo-Chechen war played out, one may consult the novella of Tolstoy, *Hadji Murad*, his last major work of fiction. Tolstoy was a young officer in the tsar's 1851 campaign to suppress a Caucasian insurgency. His book

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Funeral in Beslan

EPA / Landov / Sergei Chirikov

evokes the wild landscape and the experiences that drove him to an open and emotional identification with the Muslim fighters.

Back then, the Chechens were idolized by many in Europe as a freedom-loving, indigenous people who had done to the tsarist regime what the oppressed Poles and, later, the persecuted Jews could not do: inflict serious military losses. Among Russian Jews, respect for the Caucasian Muslims was so great that the Lubavitcher *rebbe* Menachem M. Schneerson praised the Islamic leader Imam Shamyl as a hero of resistance to injustice.

The Chechens were not to be spared from vengeance for their success at undermining Russian authority. The most brutal of Russia's rulers in the past 150 years, Joseph Stalin, whose family tree included some Ossetians, ordered a whole range of Caucasian Muslim nations—Chechens, Ingushes, Karachais, Balkars, and Meskhetian Turks—deported to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and other Central Asian republics during and after the Second World War. In most cases, the pretext was alleged collaboration with the Nazis, who seldom even reached the territories these despised peoples inhabited.

In the 1950s, Stalin's successors allowed the Caucasian Muslims to return to their homes and absolved them of the charge of assisting the Nazis. But many of them settled in Central Asia, where they followed a moderate form of Islam. In a long interview with me in Almaty in June, the deputy mufti of Kazakhstan, Muhammad-Husein Hadzhi Alsabekov, one of that country's top Muslim clerics and an ethnic Caucasian, expressed his sorrow and outrage at the September 11 attacks on the United States.

Nevertheless, the Chechen problem resurfaced in the Caucasus after the Soviet Union fell apart. At first, Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, who as an infant had been deported from his native land in a railroad cattle car, served, with his supporters, as a protector of nascent democracy. A Soviet Air Force commander in Estonia, Dudayev turned over a nuclear air base to the newly freed Estonians in 1990, making him a hero in the Baltic states. Inside Chechnya, however, order soon disintegrated. For years, many Chechens demanded independence from Russia of the kind their leader had helped the Baltic peoples gain. But unlike Estonia, Chechnya has oil, and Russia was not about to let it go. The result was a series of low-intensity, high-atrocity conflicts, with Chechen militants striking at Russian forces guerrilla-style, and the Russian military responding with mass killings and disappearances of Chechen civilians.

Dudayev, a force for moderation and stability, was slain by the Russians in 1996. Russian president Boris Yeltsin then made peace in Chechnya, in cooperation with the moderate Chechen leader Aslan Maskhadov, and withdrew the Russian army. But in 1999 the Wahhabis showed up in Chechnya and neighboring Dagestan in force. Among Muslims, it was said that they were Arabs who had been excluded from participating in the Kosovo war by the Albanian leaders of the Kosovo Liberation Army, who considered the Kosovar struggle nonreligious, and who did not want to alienate their U.S. allies.

For whatever reason, the arrival of the Wahhabis, led by a Saudi—Samir Saleh Abdullah Al-Suwailem, who called himself Khattab, and who would be killed in mysterious circumstances in 2002—plunged Chechnya back into a nightmare of kidnappings, murders, suicide terrorism, and similar incidents, which has yet to end.

But if the Chechen problem persists, so do its Russian and Saudi counterparts. Many in Russia and elsewhere believe that the Putin regime has a stake in maintaining the Chechen conflict as a means to unite his people behind the president, regardless of the criminal ineptitude displayed by Russian authorities at places like Beslan. According to authoritative Western experts, official Russian complicity in Wahhabi terror in the Caucasus cannot be doubted. The worst of the Wahhabi kidnappers, Arbi Baraev, and his nephew Rovshan, who carried out the hostage-taking in a Moscow theater in 2002, were connected with the Russian security services. The Russian authorities partly face a problem they themselves fostered.

Be that as it may, the decisive struggle to prevent atrocities like Beslan from being repeated will happen at the source, which is Saudi. We cannot, at this late date, expect Putin to suddenly come to his senses and find new Chechen allies capable of isolating the terrorists. Rather, we should recall the end of the Cold War. Once the Kremlin stopped financing world communism, the phenomenon nearly disappeared from the planet. If America can compel Saudi Arabia to cut off funding for global Wahhabism, the ghastly spectacle of Beslan will not be repeated again and again. ♦

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Embryo-centrism and Other Sins

The unceasing, and unfair, complaints of the Kass council's critics. BY MICHAEL COOK

AFTER MORE THAN TWO YEARS of complaining that President Bush's Council on Bioethics has been a reactionary, jaundiced, and unscientific influence upon American science policy, its critics have changed tack. The sneer *du jour* is that it has had *no* effective influence upon the administration.

The council was conceived in a blaze of publicity at the president's first primetime national address in August 2001. Its chairman is Leon Kass, a prominent professor of social thought from the University of Chicago. Seventeen other high-profile scientists, doctors, ethicists, social scientists, lawyers, and theologians were appointed in January 2002. Since then, the council has produced several weighty reports on human cloning, biotechnology and the pursuit of happiness, stem cell research and assisted reproduction, as well as an anthology of literature illustrating bioethical dilemmas.

And what has been the result? According to a report in the *Boston Globe* last month, very little.

The *Globe* obtained White House correspondence with the council under the Freedom of Information Act. This showed that it had been a mere "afterthought" that "served primarily to give an ideologically rigid president the veneer of open-mindedness."

Bioethicist Arthur Caplan of the University of Pennsylvania, whose two cents' worth is sought almost daily by the media on issues ranging from embryo storage to feline kidney transplants, was equally dismissive of the council's fascination with "esoterica." "They haven't had anything to say about Americans lacking health insurance, research in the Third World, drug pricing," he told the *Globe*.

Only two days after the *Globe*'s report, a withering blast from the same point of the compass appeared in *Nature*, the world's leading science journal. Boston University bioethicist George J. Annas and a colleague from Northwestern University claimed that the council had been responsible for making "public bioethics" so narrow that it had become "virtually irrelevant." In a post-9/11 world, bioethicists ought to be debating the war on terror—but instead the council had been shilly-shallying with its "embryo-centric, anti-abortion and anti-regulation political agenda."

While these accusations of toothlessness are relatively new, the council has been at the center of controversy since it was set up. From the beginning many bioethicists felt that it had been stacked in favor of the president's pro-life leanings. Last year, for instance, Glenn McGee, editor of the *American Journal of Bioethics*, penned a vitriolic editorial comparing Leon Kass to a professional assassin with the same name in a 1994 film and describing him as the "messenger of a new antiscience elite."

And when scientist Elizabeth Blackburn was dropped from the council at the beginning of 2003, the grumbling became a howl of outrage. Employing a rather tasteless hyperbole for a 9/11 world, the American Society for Cell Biology denounced the firing of its former president as a "Friday afternoon massacre." Since then, and no less hyperbolically, the work of the council has been used as evidence by the Kerry campaign that the Bush administration has consistently distorted and censored its scientific advice.

It seems paradoxical that the council should be damned for corrupting national science policy and also disparaged for sitting on its hands. What merit do the charges of ineffectiveness and embryo-centrism have?

Not much.

First of all, the council was never intended to be a legislative think tank. In fact, its brief from the president was not "the review and approval of specific projects," but a "fundamental inquiry into the human and moral significance of developments in biomedical and behavioral science and technology." For the pragmatic wing of the bioethics profession, this may look like thumb-sucking. For those who worry about the dehumanizing potential of biotechnology, it looks like a much-needed policy handbrake.

Second, President Bush sought a variety of views and not "a single consensus position." In an apparent effort to be genuinely inclusive, he appointed 18 members whose views on the moral status of the embryo—and nearly everything else—differed. As a result, it soon became obvious that the council was deeply divided between technology enthusiasts and technology skeptics. It did become "a forum for a national discussion of bioethical issues"—but at the cost of limiting the range of substantive agreement. In short, the president himself had hard-wired the council for hemming and hawing.

Despite this handicap, under Kass's guidance it still managed to slash its way through thickets of scientific fact, semantic distinctions, and bioethical principles and emerge with a clutch of proposals for interim legislative measures, especially in the areas of cloning and assisted reproductive technology.

Michael Cook is the editor of BioEdge, *an Australia-based international email newsletter on bioethics.*

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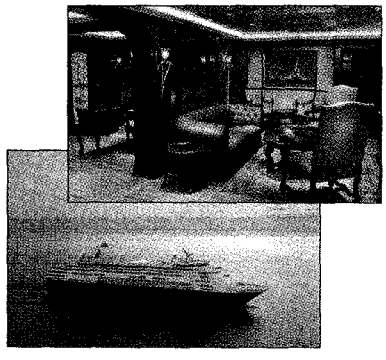

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Finally, the charge of embryo-centrism assumes that microscopic embryos are too narrow and trivial a topic for a national debate on bioethics. On a practical level, this is quickly refuted. One of the facts uncovered by the council is that the in vitro fertilization business in the United States has swollen from nothing into a $4 billion industry in 25 years. The financial potential for embryonic stem cells is largely speculative, but it could be far greater. The future of embryos touches every home in America.

According to another council member, William B. Hurlbut, a medical doctor and instructor at Stanford, belittling the importance of the embryo ignores the commercial potential of human body parts at all stages of development. "Anyone who denigrates our council work as 'embryo-centric' and therefore an overfocus on obscure concerns is not seeing clearly where science is heading," he says. "Sometimes the smallest things carry the largest meaning. This is not 'microethics' but a crucial hinge in the history of our understanding of human embodiment and human dignity."

On a political level, the word "*embryo-centrism*" is a potent weapon in an often spiteful civil war among bioethicists over the very nature of what they do with their time. The word "bioethics" was coined only three decades ago, in 1970, by an American oncologist, Van Rensselaer Potter. The new field of study metastasized quickly, invading medicine, ecology, and sociology as well as traditional philosophy. But unlike sharp-edged disciplines such as physics or mathematics, bioethics has goals, methods, and boundaries that are as murky as the lower depths of the Potomac River.

What has emerged from the quarrel over the council is evidence of the fracture between the "bio" substance and the "ethics" process. Critics like Annas and Caplan focus on the ethics—the codes, protocols, and declarations created by their new discipline. In their eyes, the destiny of bioethicists is to sit on bioethics committees and set public policy. As council member Gilbert Meilaender pointed out in an email, "It's exactly that view that has been responsible for a loss of much of the depth of reflection in bioethics in recent years."

Kass's fundamental concern, however, and one that is reflected in the unusually thoughtful tone of the council's reports, is to examine the "bio"—the nature of life and what it means to be a human person. As the 2002 report, *Human Cloning and Human Dignity*, says, "On the surface, discussion has focused on the safety of cloning techniques, the hoped-for medical benefits of cloning research, and the morality of experimenting on human embryos. But driving the conversations are deeper concerns about where biotechnology may be taking us and what it might mean for human freedom, equality, and dignity."

A variety of public policy issues merit careful study by bioethicists, but few affect a fraction of the people whose lives are touched by the rapidly changing context of human reproduction. On that score alone, the council's deliberations deserve praise, not censure, for placing far-reaching technologies at the center of national debate—not closeted away in company boardrooms.

There could be a lesson for the White House in this most recent spat over the President's Council on Bioethics: the folly of bioethical open-mindedness. Had the president really stacked the council with clones of Leon Kass back in 2002, the amount of noise made by its critics would have been about the same, but the council's achievements might have been even more substantial. If the election swings Bush's way in November, he might want to try again. ♦

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Critical Condition

The poor health of the Kerry campaign

By Matthew Continetti

Des Moines

The largest private hospital in Iowa is the Iowa Methodist Medical Center, a cluster of buildings occupying a 42-acre campus near downtown Des Moines. It is over 100 years old. It was founded in 1901 in a small office here, and over time it has grown to half a dozen buildings, four parking garages, a cancer center, and a trauma center. The School of Nursing is next door. All told, hospital officials say, the medical center employs about 4,000 Iowans.

One of the buildings is the Conference and Learning Center. It occupies the southwest corner of the campus, is several stories tall, and, like most of the other buildings, is built of red brick. Inside are a library, several classrooms, an auditorium, and a large conference room. The conference room is underground. One day last week, it was packed with a few hundred locals, as well as a few dozen members of the press. For over an hour, the Iowans and journalists sat in folding chairs 9 or 10 rows deep, listening to Democratic presidential nominee John Kerry talk about the election, health care, and, he said, "exactly where I stand on everything."

For the most part, the Iowans had not traveled far. Most were from Des Moines, and the hospital is only half a mile from the city center. To get there from the east, you follow Grand Avenue until you reach 10th Street, take a right, and then, two blocks later, take a left on Woodland Avenue. It is a brisk walk, and on a late summer morning there is little traffic, the sidewalks are empty, and the cloudless sky stretches for miles.

For Kerry, however, the road to the Iowa Methodist Medical Center was long and harsh. Just look at the numbers. Last week was filled with polls that showed Kerry behind President Bush. On September 9, the morning Kerry visited Des Moines, Bush was ahead in the *USA Today*/CNN poll, ahead in the CBS News poll, and ahead in the ABC News/*Washington Post* poll. Early last week, shortly after the Republican National Convention, *Newsweek* and *Time* both released polls of their own, and both showed major post-convention bounces for the president. Polls change, of course, and yet, as the presidential race headed into its final stages, a trend had been established. The pollster John Zogby best captured the mood. "Mr. Kerry," he wrote, "is on the ropes."

For Kerry, August was littered with missteps, and mangled words, and strategic shuffles. Looking back even further, there was Kerry's nominating convention, held at the end of July. At the time, the convention was thought a success. However, in retrospect, things look different. The convention focused so intensely on the senator's Vietnam record that it left the candidate vulnerable when the independent Swift Boat Veterans for Truth stepped forward to criticize Kerry's war record and anti-war activities in television ads. And things got worse. On August 9, a few days after the Swift vet ads began to air, Kerry stumbled when he told reporters, "Yes," he "would have voted for the authority" that allowed President Bush to invade Iraq, even knowing what he knows now about Saddam Hussein's apparent lack of weapons of mass destruction. "I believe it's the right authority for a president to have," Kerry said. In the course of a few brief sentences, as he stood in front of the vast, empty Grand Canyon, Kerry had undermined the foreign policy rationale of his campaign.

By the end of August, things were not any better. On September 2, the night Bush gave his acceptance speech in New York, Kerry flew from his vacation home in Nantucket to Springfield, Ohio, for a midnight rally. It was a last-minute addition to his schedule, and it was a disaster. "The vice president even called me unfit for office last night," Kerry said. (Cheney had said no such thing.) "Well, I'm going to leave it up to the voters to decide whether five deferments makes someone more qualified than two tours of duty." Every now and then, Kerry was interrupted by his own supporters, who screamed, "Take the gloves off!" And every now and then, Kerry smiled wanly. "I will not have my commitment to defend this country questioned by those who refused to serve when they could have, and who misled America in Iraq," he said. It was a rambling talk. Attacked and attacked at the Republican National Convention for his voting record in

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the Senate, Kerry's only response was to point out that he served in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, there was a slow-motion staff shake-up in the Kerry campaign. To understand the Kerry campaign, it helps to think of it as a dry lakebed in which sediment piles up over time. The first layer of sediment is composed of staffers who worked with former campaign manager Jim Jordan. Call this the Jordan Era. It lasted from the Kerry campaign's beginning in 2002 to November 2003. That is when Jordan was fired. Slowly, over the next six months, Jordan loyalists were phased out. Soon after Jordan left, for example, Robert Gibbs, a spokesman, left too. In May, the speechwriter Andrei Cherny left. The only senior adviser from the Jordan era who remains with the campaign is pollster Mark Mellman.

The next layer of sediment is marked by the ascendance of Kerry's second campaign manager, Mary Beth Cahill. Call this the Cahill Era. It lasted from November 2003 to August 2004. In this era, Cahill, who was once Edward Kennedy's chief of staff, brought on people close to both her and Kennedy. Stephanie Cutter is an example. A Cahill protégée, she once flacked for the senior senator from Massachusetts and now flacks for Kerry. In the Cahill era, the influence of political consultant Bob Shrum, a longtime Kennedy confidant, was at its highest. Cahill, Cutter, and Shrum all remain with the campaign, but all three received much of the blame for August's Swift boat debacle, and since then they have stayed out of the limelight. When senior Kerry advisers flew to New York during the Republican National Convention for a breakfast with reporters, Cutter did not say a word.

The third layer is the most recent. It is only a few weeks old. It is composed of old Clinton hands. You can call it the Clinton Era. Or you can call it the Lockhart Era. Joe Lockhart is a former Clinton press secretary, but these days he dominates the Kerry message machine. Another former Clinton communications adviser, Joel Johnson, is now in charge of Kerry's rapid response team. Doug Sosnick, a policy adviser in the Clinton White House, is now at the DNC. Another Clinton ally who joined Kerry's campaign recently is pollster Stanley Greenberg. Another is Howard Wolfson, who was formerly a senior aide to Hillary Clinton. The onset of the Clinton era came Saturday, September 4, when the former president spoke to Kerry from his sickbed. The conversation lasted about 90 minutes, it was forthright, and it was, for the most part, unidirectional. Clinton did most of the talking. According to the *New York Times*, he told Kerry to "move away from talking about Vietnam" and focus instead "on drawing contrasts with President Bush on job creation and health care policies."

But Clinton's intervention solved nothing. Kerry is still prone to mistakes. On September 6, he said Iraq was "the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time." On September 7, he mourned the thousandth casualty in Iraq by saying, "More than 1,000 of America's sons and daughters have now given their lives on behalf of their country, on behalf of freedom, in the war on terror." Again and again, however, Kerry has said President Bush neglected the "real war on terror" in "Afghanistan and Northwest Pakistan" by invading Iraq. So is Iraq part of the war on terror, or isn't it? Kerry won't say.

There have been other mistakes. Last Wednesday, in Cincinnati, Kerry gave an address on Iraq without ever really talking about Iraq. Instead he talked a lot about the cost of the war, a lot about health care, and a lot about outsourcing. The speech had lost its moorings by the second page. So had the candidate. Later that day, in Greensboro, North Carolina, Kerry said he supported the creation of something called the Department of "Wellness & Prevention." And on September 6, Kerry told his audience in Canonsburg, West Virginia, this story:

> Everybody told me, "God, if you're coming to Canonsburg, you've got to find time to go to Toy's, and he'll take care of you." [Toy's is a local restaurant.] I understand it's my kind of place, because you don't have to—you know, when they give you the menu, I'm always struggling: "Ah, what do you want?" He just gives you what he's got, right? And you don't have to worry, it's whatever he's cooked up that day. And I think that's the way it ought to work, for confused people like me who can't make up our minds.

And yet, judging from the audience at the Iowa Methodist Medical Center, you would think the Kerry campaign was doing just fine. The audience smiled and clapped and laughed and hugged Kerry last Thursday. A few called him "President Kerry." One woman thanked him for coming to Iowa and said, "You tend to have a habit of rescuing people and things," and hoped he would rescue America next. Another said she "couldn't wait" until Kerry was president.

The audience was reserved. They were mostly white, they were mostly seniors, and they looked mostly sleepy. It was a stark contrast. In July, when I saw Kerry and John Edwards greet a crowd on a tarmac in Ft. Lauderdale, the supporters gathered there seemed crazed, their brains cooked by too much sun. Iowans are more relaxed. They have done this before. They are political pros. And so, as they waited for Kerry to arrive, they read newspapers, fiddled with cell phones, drank coffee, and adjusted their camcorders.

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During the lull, I fell into conversation with a woman named Anita Campbell. Anita is from Saylor Township. Her husband, Dave Campbell, is the Democratic candidate for the Iowa House of Representatives in District 69. District 69 comprises much of Polk County. "Everything north of I-80," Anita said. Anita is a nurse. In January, the caucus she attended went for Kerry, but she had been a Gephardt supporter. "Gephardt is a super, super guy, such a nice, big family," she said. She has experience dealing with reporters. "At my caucus, there was a woman from a magazine in Washington," she told me, "and she interviewed me, and she took my name, but I've forgotten hers!" She paused. "Look at that lady's heels," she said. Her voice was barely audible. She was watching a tall blonde woman shake hands with audience members. "O my lord, they must be three inches tall. She must be a hospital administrator."

Anita and Dave were at the Des Moines airport Wednesday evening. They were there to greet Kerry, who flew into town from Minnesota, where he had been campaigning. Dave is a veteran, and so he was allowed on the tarmac to greet Kerry personally. Anita, who is not a veteran, had to remain far away. "There I was, holding a sign, but I couldn't go out there," she said. "I just waved and waved. But there was a nice lady Democrat from Polk County who couldn't go out either and said she'd help with Dave's campaign, so that was good."

Getty

Leaving on his jet plane: Kerry departs Des Moines, September 9, 2004.

Anita is short, has brown hair, and wears glasses. Dave is short, balding, and also wears glasses. Both are thickly proportioned. At Christmas, Dave plays Santa Claus at a local mall. They enjoy politics, and they enjoy parades. "We have a parade on Saturday," Anita said. "September 11. When Dave ran two years ago, we were in five parades. So far this is the only one this time."

The room was crowded. People waited silently. Anita yawned.

"Just a bunch of sitting around and waiting, isn't it?" she said. She was always smiling. "But you have a nice book to read. *The Bottom of the Harbor*. That sounds exciting. What's at the bottom?"

Dirt and fish, I said.

Anita laughed. "I think Kerry's wonderful," she continued. "He makes sense. Teresa? Well, she's a little bit . . . out there, isn't she? But at least she's no milquetoast like Laura. Laura Bush. Don't get me wrong," she said, "I

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love Laura. She's pretty, she's poised, she's well-spoken. But does she have a mind of her own?"

There was no time to answer Anita's question, because Kerry entered the room, and the crowd rose and clapped, and U2's "Beautiful Day" played in the background. Kerry stood in the center of the crowd. He seemed tired; his voice was hoarse, he wandered around, and at one point he almost tripped over the microphone cord. "It's great to be back," he said. "This is my second home. I am a regular here, and I love it, and I wouldn't be doing what I'm doing if it weren't for the common sense and love and affection of Iowa. You ask me a question and I'll tell you exactly where I stand on everything—except the Hawkeye-Cyclone game."

The crowd chuckled, then clapped some more, then fell silent.

"This is the most important election of our lifetimes," Kerry continued. "This is not politics, this is your lives. These are real choices, every single one of them. They"—he was talking about the Bush administration—"made a different choice."

Kerry has a new riff he uses on the stump. It is based on the president's middle initial. "W stands for wrong," he said. "Wrong choice, wrong leadership, wrong for America." He began to list the ways in which the president is W. Like outsourcing. "That's W." Or Social Security privatization. "That's W." Or Medicare premiums. "That's W."

Kerry has a new riff. It is based on the president's middle initial. "W stands for wrong," he said. "Wrong choice, wrong leadership, wrong for America."

Anita leaned over in my direction and whispered, "Did you get all those wrongs?"

"Health care just has this unlimited ability to keep going up every year," Kerry went on, "and people can't keep up with it. President Bush for four years has had an opportunity to try to deal with this, and he has no plan at all. In fact, he's been busy losing people's coverage."

Sometimes Kerry tried to link his domestic message to his foreign policy one. "Just look at the most catastrophic decision of all that this man has made, and that is the way he decided to go to war in Iraq," he said. "And now we're spending $200 billion that we're not spending on health care, that we're not spending to help seniors cushion the cost of Medicare, that we're not spending to be able to invest in new jobs."

Anita took a photo.

Kerry droned on. "I'm tired of politicians who talk about family values but then they don't go out and value families," he said. Someone said, "That's right." The audience burst into applause.

Then Kerry took questions from the audience. These were softballs, mostly, like, "Do you have a plan for childcare?" and "Will you come back to Iowa?" Surprise! Kerry does, and he will.

Soon the question and answer period was over, however, and a member of Kerry's staff who stood at the side of the room signaled it was time to leave. Kerry needed to fly to New Orleans, where he would address the National Baptist Convention Thursday evening. Before he left, Kerry told the audience to look at his and John Edwards's plan for America. The plan is in a book titled *Our Plan for America*. You can get the book outside, Kerry said, and get several. Pass them around. "Please talk to your friends," he said. There was a hint of desperation in his voice. "Strip away the labels." Then he thanked the crowd, and his exit music began. An hour had passed by unnoticed.

"It was awesome," Anita said. She took another photo of Kerry.

I said it seemed as if he were tired.

"I'd be surprised if he didn't sound tired," Anita said. "All that running around. Wouldn't you be tired?"

He didn't talk about Iraq much at all, I said.

Dave joined the conversation. "I don't see any Iraq posters up, do you?" he asked. He pointed to the walls. "No, they say health care. That's what this was about. We're in a hospital." Then he stepped back and watched Kerry hug a woman in a wheelchair, and pose for some cameras, and sign some autographs.

"What I was impressed with the most," Dave went on, "was when he was out on that tarmac yesterday. He didn't just scribble his name, every time someone came up to him. He signed his name, he signed it slowly, on every piece of paper put in front of him. Every piece."

Anita nodded.

I left Anita and Dave angling for their own photograph with the candidate, and walked outside, past the press filing center, past the harried campaign aides preparing for the next leg of their trip. A volunteer sat at a table beside the exit. There were stacks of Kerry and Edwards's *Our Plan for America* on the table. I asked if I could take one.

"Oh, please do," the volunteer said. "Take as many as you like. And give them to your friends! We need all the help we can get." ♦

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The Party of Europe

When it comes to America's role in the world, Democrats are hard to distinguish from Europeans.

By Daniel C. Twining

"I've met foreign leaders who can't go out and say this publicly, but boy, they look at you and say, 'You've got to win this, you've got to beat this guy, we need a new policy,' things like that."

Senator John Kerry, March 6, 2004

"As the president has made very clear, there is a difference between leading a coalition of the many and submitting to the objections of a few. George W. Bush will never seek a permission slip to defend the American people."

Vice President Dick Cheney, September 1, 2004

"[Democrats] stress that America needs the help of her friends to combat an evil that threatens us all, that our alliances are as important to victory as are our armies. We agree. And, as we've been a good friend to other countries in moments of shared perils, so we have good reason to expect their solidarity with us in this struggle."

Senator John McCain, August 30, 2004

"Kerry would let Paris decide when America needs defending. I want Bush to decide."

Senator Zell Miller, September 1, 2004

The quality of the United States' relations with key allies and the role those allies play in American foreign policy decision-making has proved a surprisingly high-profile issue in this year's presidential campaign. But perhaps this should be no surprise. It will matter profoundly—for Americans, our allies, and our enemies—who wins in November, a contention borne out by a major new poll on transatlantic attitudes conducted by the German Marshall Fund of the United States and Italy's Compagnia di San Paolo.

On the question of transatlantic relations, Americans may be from Mars and Europeans from Venus. But there are equally sharp divisions within the United States over how our country conducts its affairs in the world. You might almost say, with John Edwards, that there are "two Americas." And one of these Americas is European.

The America of many Democratic voters is distinctly European in its preference for multilateral solutions, its desire to see the rise of a new European superpower, and its ambivalence on the legitimacy of using military force. The other America—that of many Republican voters—welcomes allied support but favors acting alone when we must, supports using military force to protect vital interests with or without multilateral approval, wants the United States to remain the only superpower, and believes strongly that military power is a force for justice and peace.

Europeans may be right to hope that a Kerry administration would take a more deferential approach to America's allies and would resort to force less readily absent international consensus. But would the American people be better served if America's power to fight terrorism, end dictatorship, and enhance freedom were harnessed to a worldview in the White House that was, in a word, European? And is the way to repair transatlantic relations really to elect a president whose base would appear to feel right at home within the European Union?

This last is not an exaggeration. Our poll found that the opinions of Democratic voters on a range of issues closely resemble opinions across Europe. Democrats (62 percent) are even more likely than Europeans (40 percent) to express strong disapproval of President Bush's foreign policy (the countries polled include the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Slovakia). Because Democrats presumably blame Bush for the state of transatlantic relations, they are more determined to support strong European leadership in the world, perhaps as an antidote to American power. Democrats believe with greater intensity than Republicans that strong E.U. leadership is very desirable. Similarly, far more Democrats (67 percent) than Republicans (48 percent) believe that the U.S.-European partnership should become closer. But this is an unrequited love: Only

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Daniel C. Twining, a former foreign policy adviser to Senator John McCain, is a director at the German Marshall Fund. These are his personal views. The full results of the "Transatlantic Trends 2004" poll can be seen at www.transatlantictrends.org.

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33 percent of Europeans feel the same. Democrats want to move closer to Europe at a time when a majority of Europeans want to act more independently.

In our U.S. polling, stark divisions emerged over whether the United States should remain the world's sole superpower, or whether an E.U. superpower is desirable. Republicans are the party of hegemony: 52 percent want the United States to remain the sole superpower, while a strong plurality (46 percent) of Democrats would welcome the rise of an E.U. superpower. And 81 percent of Democrats who support the rise of an E.U. superstate would favor it even if it sometimes opposed U.S. policies. Democrats, in the main, are willing both to see the rise of an alternative power center in the world and to tolerate its opposition to American leadership; Republicans by and large believe the world is a better place when America is predominant.

Compared with Republicans, Democrats and their European confreres show different degrees of willingness to use force, depending on the nature of the threat. Republicans are more willing to use force against "hard" threats like terrorism, while Democrats and Europeans are more likely to support using force for "soft" missions like humanitarian relief. But we see a stark divide between Republicans, on the one hand, and Democrats and Europeans, on the other, over using force without an international mandate. Many Americans and Europeans support using military force for a variety of causes, provided there is international approval from the U.N. or some other body. However, absent such approval, Republicans overwhelmingly (71 percent) would still support using force, while Democrats (56 percent) and Europeans (70 percent) would not.

Mentioning that the war in Iraq "liberated the Iraqi people" actually diminishes Democratic support for the war by 3 percentage points.

Overall, most Americans would bypass the U.N. to protect U.S. vital interests. Most Democrats would not. Eighty-four percent of Republicans and 59 percent of independents but only 40 percent of Democrats say that bypassing the U.N. is justified when vital interests are at stake. Democrats are even less willing to bypass the U.N. than Europeans, and far less likely to support acting without a U.N. mandate than the publics in Britain, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, and Slovakia, where more sensible majorities would not wait for U.N. approval. When John Kerry says that he would never give the U.N. a veto over American policy, he speaks for himself and a hawkish Democratic elite—but not for most Democratic voters.

Democrats (81 percent) are also more likely than Europeans (71 percent) to view the U.N. favorably. Most Republicans (56 percent) do not. Democratic support for the U.N. has increased in the past two years, their support for Kofi Annan and Co. rising in league with their anger over Bush policies.

Like many Europeans, Democrats believe that we should never go to war, as in Iraq, without the U.N.'s blessing. Eighty-one percent of Democrats and 82 percent of Europeans (but only 26 percent of Republicans) believe a U.N. mandate would be essential for an Iraq-type operation in the future. In equal numbers, Democrats (80 percent) and Europeans (80 percent) do not believe the war in Iraq was worth the costs; 77 percent of Republicans believe it was. Mentioning that the war in Iraq "liberated the Iraqi people" actually diminishes Democratic support for the war by 3 percentage points, even as it raises independent support for the war and decreases European opposition to the war.

If John Kerry is elected president, pressure from within his party to withdraw American forces from Iraq will be severe. Sixty-three percent of Democrats disapprove of the presence of their country's troops in Iraq, compared with strong levels of support among Republicans (83 percent), independents (54 percent), and majorities in the hardiest of our European allies, Great Britain and the Netherlands. Democratic support for the commitment of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, at 53 percent, is also disturbingly low—Afghanistan was, after all, a classic war of self-defense, and is a country that cries out for Clinton-style nation-building. Many European publics show more robust support for their forces' mission in Afghanistan.

Despite most Democrats' opposition on troops in Iraq, our poll demonstrates that the legitimacy afforded by U.N. approval would trump Democratic—and European—opponents' doubts about the mission. A U.N. mandate for a multinational force in Iraq causes Democratic support for our troops to jump from 35 percent to 66 percent. In the European countries whose governments most oppose U.S. policy in Iraq, public support for contributing soldiers to a U.N. force jumps to 63 percent in France, 66 percent in Spain, and 57 percent in Germany. For Democrats, as for those French, German, and Spanish voters whose governments continue to oppose us on Iraq, the U.N.'s blessing magically dissolves our differences. But this is too good to be true—since the U.N. has actually endorsed the

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mission of the U.S.-led multinational force in Iraq. Alas, there are no French, German, or Spanish troops in sight.

At the heart of the partisan divide over foreign policy, as with the transatlantic divide over the Iraq war, are profound differences over the role of power in world affairs. Most Republicans (66 percent), but only minorities of Democrats (35 percent) and Europeans (14 percent), believe strongly that war is sometimes necessary to obtain justice. Asked whether the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, 73 percent of Republicans agree, compared with only 48 percent of Democrats and 28 percent of Europeans. Most Republicans (63 percent) strongly agree that military action is the most appropriate way to fight terrorism, compared with only 23 percent of Democrats and 21 percent of Europeans. Democrats, like Europeans, are more likely than Republicans to believe that economic power is more important than military power in world affairs, and they are far more likely to believe that economic aid to improve living standards overseas is the most effective way to fight terrorism.

Democrats are nearly four times more likely than Republicans to believe that their country is spending too much on defense, while Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats to believe we are not spending enough. Like Europeans, Democrats are far more apt to base their vote in the next elections on how a party handles domestic and economic issues, while Republicans are more likely to vote based on how a party handles foreign policy and terrorism.

Like many Europeans, many Democrats seem uneasy over the role of military power in international relations. It goes without saying that our enemies betray no such qualms.

Europeans often criticize the Bush administration for its willingness to use America's military dominance to solve international problems. If a Democratic president who answered to his base were in office, our friends across the Atlantic would probably show less concern about America's Hobbesian qualities, since Democrats are far less likely than Republicans to believe that war, military power, and force in the absence of allied consensus are instruments of choice—or even necessity—in international politics. But who would benefit from the Western democracies' aversion to wielding the power that protects them from the barbarians at the gate?

Should President Bush be reelected, the challenge for Europeans will be to help reform existing institutions or create new mechanisms of cooperation that can reconcile Americans' determination to act boldly abroad with Europeans' determination to influence the shape of the world order Americans aspire to build. The good news for Europeans is that Republicans still want to be good partners, despite our differences: 79 percent agree on the importance of acting closely with allies on national security issues, 72 percent believe that strong E.U. leadership in the world is desirable, and 63 percent believe that the United States and Europe share enough common values to cooperate. Republicans are actually more likely than Democrats to believe that Europe is more important to U.S. interests than Asia. And on Iraq and Afghanistan, Republicans are likely to appreciate deeply the continued support of many European countries for their troops stationed there. There is indeed a strong basis for transatlantic cooperation in a second Bush administration, despite our differences.

Ironically, if John Kerry wins, Europe's task may be harder. Should Kerry govern by the preferences of his base, rather than following the better instincts of the Democratic foreign policy elite, the challenge for Europe will not be to restrain an American Leviathan on the march, but to fill the vacuum left by an America in retreat—from Iraq, among other places—through a greater European willingness to act internationally when a U.S. administration that is less comfortable wielding American power will not. Europeans and a new Democratic administration would have to reconcile their high regard for multilateralism and their mutual ambivalence about the uses of military power with their solemn obligation to act assertively against international terrorists—who would likely be emboldened by the Western democracies' reluctance to deploy such power decisively against self-declared enemies.

Given these realities, it is hard to be confident that the world would enjoy higher levels of security, stability, and freedom were President Bush to be defeated in November. Perhaps a Democratic restoration would yield a world that might seem more harmonious and peaceful, and we would for a time relish the illusion of comity and stability. With warm transatlantic relations restored and American power politely held in check, we likely would go abroad less frequently in search of monsters to destroy, and maybe, for a time, they would not come looking for us.

Perhaps the United States and Europe would again see eye to eye on the international challenges of the day, valuing consensus over the allied divisions brought about by the war in Iraq, and opting to exercise together the softer forms of power and influence, rather than wielding the hard power that has caused so much transatlantic tension over the past few years. Perhaps we would, as John Kerry has said, wage a "more sensitive" war on terrorism, and it would help us all to get along.

But would we really be safer? ♦

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The Gift of Self-Reliance

Philister Randiki of Kenya with her calf.

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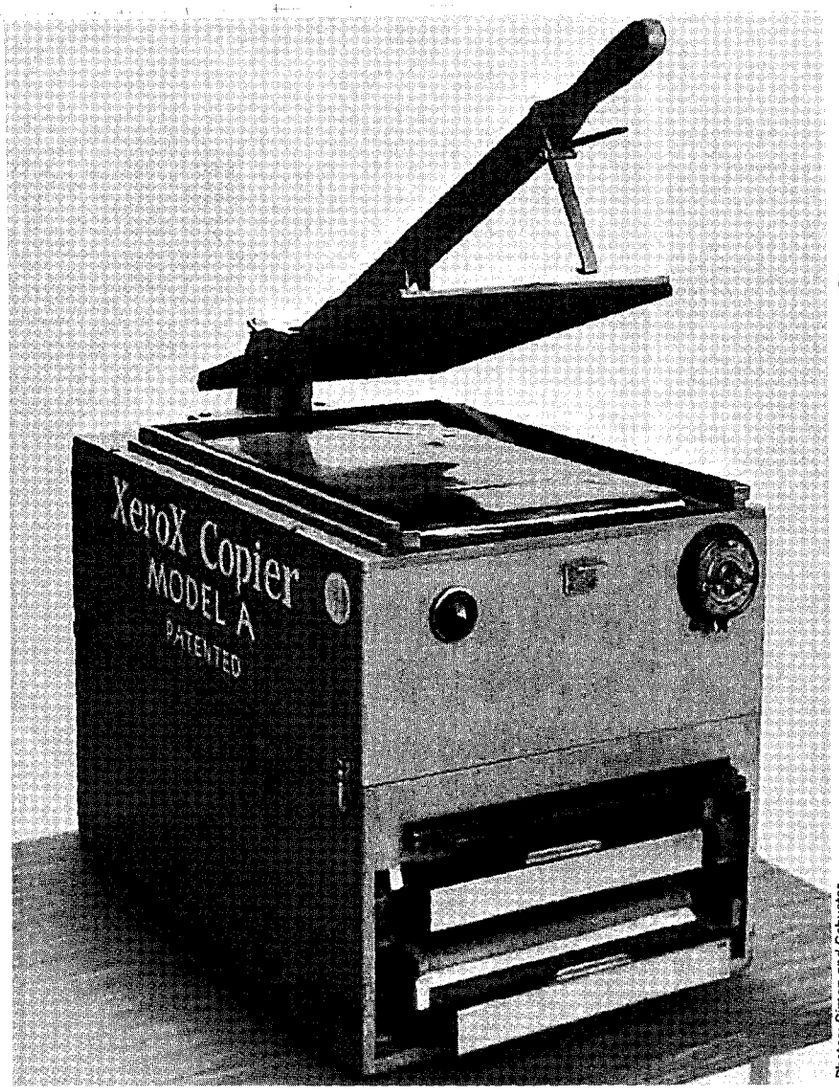
Making Copies

How the Xerox machine changed the world

By Brian Murray



Photos: Simon and Schuster.

David Owen first wrote about xerography in a 1986 *Atlantic Monthly* article that characterized the Xerox machine as one of those extraordinary twentieth-century devices we take almost entirely for granted. Now, almost twenty years later, Owen returns to the subject in *Copies in Seconds*, an oddly engaging account of how one man, Chester Carlson, and an unknown company, Haloid, created "the biggest communication breakthrough since Guttenberg." This unlikely device, Owen writes, gave "ordinary people an extraordinary means of preserving and sharing all sorts of information, and it placed the exchange of complicated ideas within the reach of almost everyone."

The Xerox machine hit the market in the 1960s, and almost overnight it became so pervasive—so central to our daily routines—that it's now almost impossible to imagine life without it. Of course, if the Xerox machine hadn't been invented, we'd have "fewer lawyers, larger forests, smaller landfills"—as well as fewer filing cabinets, cleaner offices, and shorter meetings. And schoolchildren everywhere would still be dizzily inhaling the scent of methyl alcohol that clung to blue-inked copies cranked out on ditto machines. More than forty years ago, Marshall McLuhan hailed the Xerox machine, predicting its potent and potentially subversive force; and indeed, in the former Soviet Union, as Owen recalls, where "totalitarian rulers maintained their power by monopolizing access to information, copiers were guarded more closely than computers, and individual copies were numbered, so they could be traced."

Copies in Seconds
Chester Carlson and the Birth of the Xerox Machine
by David Owen
Simon & Schuster, 320 pp., $24

The hero of *Copies in Seconds* is Chester Carlson, a man of unusual modesty and singular drive. Born in Seattle in 1906, Carlson began life without prospects. His father, although trained as a barber, was too sick to work and spent most of his adult life in bed, wracked with pain. He suffered from both tuberculosis and arthritis of the spine. Photographs, Owen notes, show a man who "looked eighty by the time he was forty-five."

Carlson's mother was more buoyant but no more fortunate, suffering from both tuberculosis and malaria among other afflictions. Carlson would recall sensing, at age five, that he was "poorer, more vulnerable" than other children. By the time he was eight, Carlson was working several jobs to help keep his family afloat. His family lived in "decrepit houses," and when he was seventeen, after his mother died, Carlson lived with his father in a converted chicken coop with a bare, concrete floor.

Carlson's resilience saved him, along with help from his mother's family. One of his uncles, a high-school

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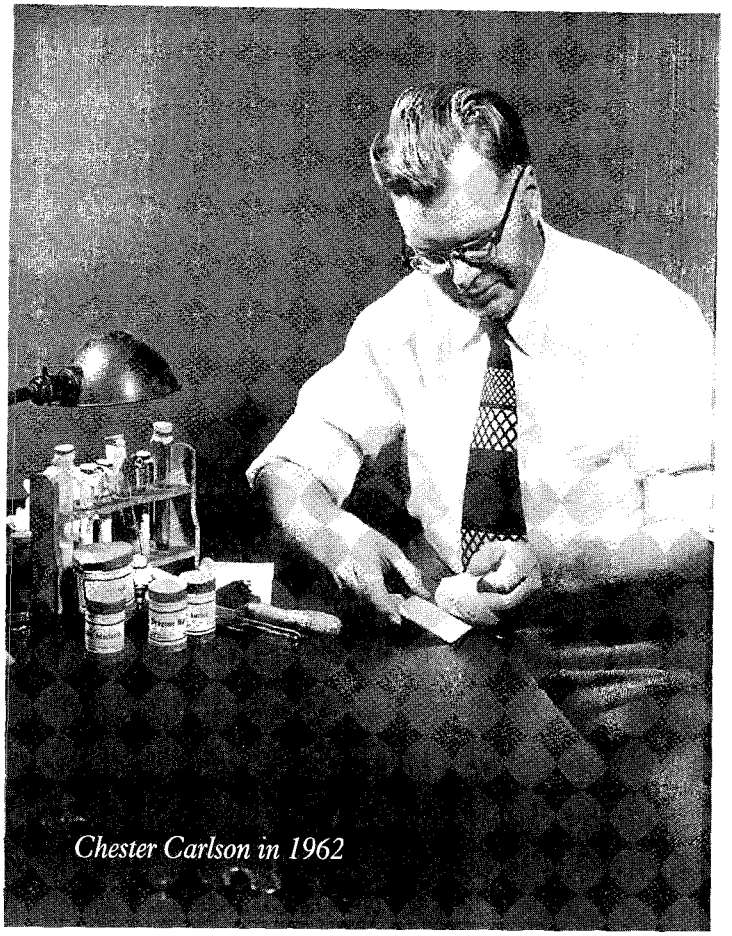

Chester Carlson in 1962

principal, encouraged Carlson to enroll in a work-study program at Riverside Junior College in San Bernardino, sixty miles from Los Angeles. When he wasn't studying, Carlson worked in a concrete plant, a cannery, and a restaurant kitchen.

Urged on by his teachers, Carlson then entered the California Institute of Technology, studying chemistry, physics, mechanics, and electricity. Carlson's work ethic was impeccable, but in this case his timing couldn't have been worse. He graduated in 1930, a bad year for anyone looking for work. The Depression was deepening, and unemployment was at an all-time high. So he moved to New York, where his aunt offered him a place to live and Bell Telephone offered him a job. Carlson worked as a patent clerk for the phone company before taking a similar position with P.R. Mallory and Company, a maker of electrical and electronic components that, in later years, also produced Duracell batteries.

Precise, introverted, patient, polite: Carlson was well-suited for clerical work. But he was also ambitious. In one notebook he sketched his dream house: an "idealized country estate," complete with an English farmhouse, orchards, a corral, and a fishing pond. And he itched to invent, filling notebooks with useful, if youthful ideas: a see-through toothpaste tube, a toothbrush with replacement bristles, a raincoat with gutters.

The tedium of patent work prompted Carlson's great idea. Patent applications were necessarily sent to various readers—a task that, in the 1930s, required considerable typing and retyping and vast stacks of carbon paper. And if Carlson needed a copy of a drawing in a patent application, he had to send it to an outside company that owned a state-of-the-art duplicating device like a Photostat or Rectigraph machine. Photostat copying, Owen notes, involved "coated papers and messy chemicals"; a Rectigraph machine, was "a camera the size of a kitchen stove, with a big black bellows for adjusting the focus." Carlson wanted a copier that would fit in an office, "where you could bring a document to it, push it in a slot, push a button, and get a copy out."

Carlson, understandably, first considered photography as the basis of his invention, but backed off when he considered that huge companies, like Eastman Kodak, had probably already studied the problem without success. Carlson also wondered if he could make copies chemically, perhaps by using a solvent partially to dissolve "the text or image of an existing document, so that an impression of it could be made by pressing a blank piece of paper against it, as with a printing press." But Carlson also assumed that no single practicable solvent could work effectively with the endless array of available inks and papers. Besides, the solvent itself would unavoidably alter the original document—something Carlson was determined to avoid.

Carlson's research led him down the different path of photoelectricity—a concept "so hard to understand that Albert Einstein won the Nobel Prize in 1921 for having explained it in 1905." Put very simply, a photoelectric material is, as Owen writes, "one that sheds electrons when light shines on it." Carlson's work was partly inspired by the earlier experiments of a Hungarian physicist, Paul Selenyi, who looked for ways to transmit and print newspaper photographs and other graphic images through electrostatic means. In part, Selenyi used "finely divided powders to make visible images of electrostatic charges." Carlson, Owen writes, "always credited Selenyi with having inspired him, but Selenyi never saw the connections that Carlson did."

Working in makeshift labs, Carlson theorized that he could improve on Selenyi's method by combining it with photoconductivity. He would use light "to remove electrostatic charges from the nonimage areas of a uniformly ionized photoconductor." Then he would "make the pattern visible by dusting it with powder, and transfer the powder to a sheet of untreated paper." Carlson eventually scraped up money to hire an assistant, Otto Kornei, an experienced electrical engineer who doubted the worth of Carlson's process but was hard up for work. In 1938 Carlson and Kornei, using sulfur as a photoconductive source, produced on a glass microscope slide the first xerographic image, a scrawled notation of the date and their location in Queens, New York: "10.22.38 ASTORIA."

Kornei remained skeptical of the long-term promise of Carlson's process and left for a better-paying job. Carlson, however, pressed on, despite the fact that for years he couldn't find corporate support for his theories. Kodak, IBM, and RCA all snubbed Carlson before he finally formed an agreement with the Haloid Corporation, an

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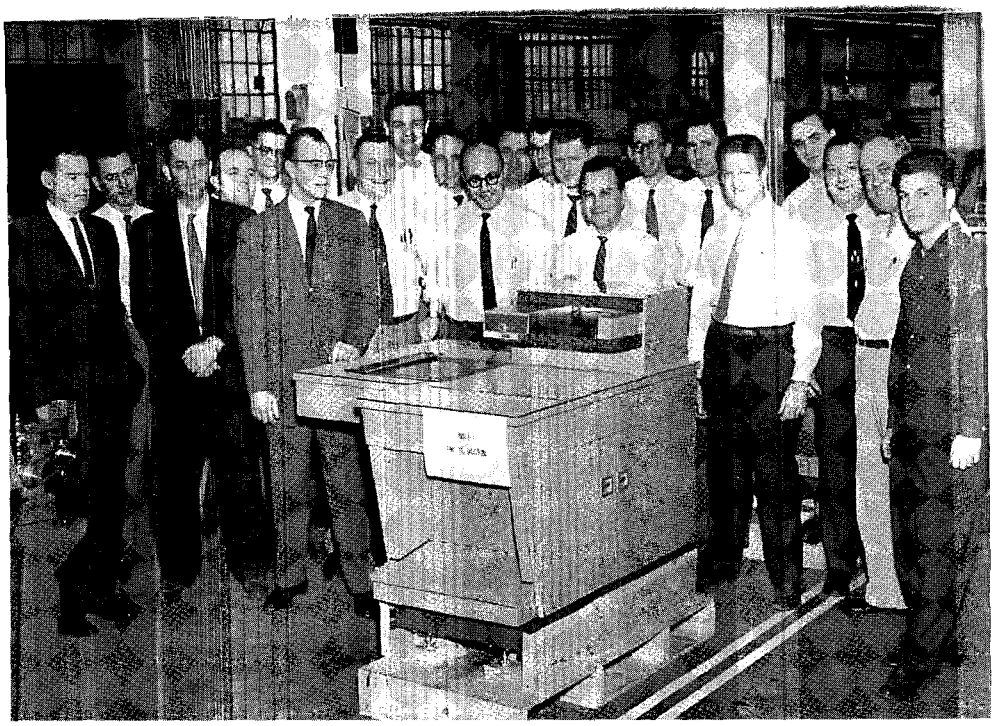
obscure maker of photographic supplies and equipment based in Rochester, New York.

With Carlson's continued input, Haloid technicians and engineers refined his ideas, substituting, for example, selenium for sulfur as a more sensitive, efficient photoconductor. Haloid changed the name of Carlson's patented process from electrophotography to xerography, inspired by the Greek words xeros ("dry") and graphein ("writing"). The firm itself became known as Haloid Xerox and later, more simply, as the Xerox Corporation, which seemed similar enough to powerhouse Kodak "without being derivative."

In 1949 Xerox introduced the first commercial version of the copier, the Model A, but it proved too complicated for routine office use, involving a series of precise steps that contradicted Carlson's goal of simplicity as well as reliability. But the Model A used a toner made from a resin that repelled water and attracted oil-based inks, making it perfect for creating cheap lithographic masters used in offset printing. As a result, the Model A spun profits that enabled Xerox to persist in aggressive research that, in 1960, produced the 914: the world's first easy-to-use plain paper copier. Although an early version of the 914 is now displayed in the Smithsonian, "more than a few," Owen suggests, are still used throughout the world.



Xerox ships the first model 914 in March of 1960.

This might surprise the early Xerox engineers, who knew the 914 was notoriously temperamental, particularly in high humidity—good news for the growing corps of repairmen Xerox was now forced to employ. Owen quotes one executive who admits that "as an invention the 914 was magnificent, but as a product it wasn't very good." Still, when it worked, the 914 was a wonder to behold. It made far better copies than rival devices, the Thermofax and Verifax, and exuded a kind of charm rarely seen in a machine. The 914 also benefited from its link to a small but daring company, and so customers "endured indignities" they would not have accepted from 3M, Kodak, or IBM. They accepted glitches and breakdowns as "the price of an intoxicating new capability"—much as they did, two decades later, when the personal computer began to make its way into offices and homes.

And there were television advertisements as well, very clever ones created by George Lois, a key figure in Madison Avenue's Golden Age. These showed that a child—even a trained chimpanzee—could operate a 914 with confident ease. Inside, the 914—like the copiers of today—was an impressive system of lens, mirrors, and rotating parts. But outside it displayed just four moving parts: a PRINT button, ON and OFF buttons, and a dial for selecting up to fifteen copies. It became one of the most swiftly successful industrial products of all time, generating profit margins of 70 per cent.

Xerox, awash with cash, soon introduced the 813—a desktop version of the 914—and the 2400, which produced 2,400 copies an hour. By 1965 Xerox had become the fifteenth-largest publicly owned corporation in the United States. Less than ten years before, it was one of the runts in a litter of Rochester photographic firms. Now it was bigger than Chrysler, RCA, and U.S. Steel.

In 1970 Xerox opened its Palo Alto Research Center, where the tradition of Chester Carlson was invoked and expected to preside. It was in Palo Alto, during the 1970s, that Xerox invented—or "nearly" invented, as Owen puts it—the personal computer, the computer mouse, and the laser printer. But the company didn't reap what it sowed. For a variety of reasons, these products were never developed into serious commercial products by Xerox itself.

The giant company lumbered through the 1980s and 1990s, scaring shareholders and demoralizing employees along the way. The ups and downs of Xerox have been widely described and analyzed by business journalists, who have identified the firm's abrupt growth as a key reason for its subsequent troubles. Owen also cites increasing competition and a series of managerial mistakes, not least the decision, during the 1980s, to diversify the firm far beyond its core offerings. Xerox is once again calling itself "the Document Company," drawing on its history, but its detours into other businesses—like financial services—have often hurt its reputation and bottom line.

And what of Carlson? In 1945 he married Dorris Hudgins, a secretary and the daughter of a tug-boat captain. The pair honeymooned in Washington, D.C., partly so that Carlson—not, apparently, a conventionally romantic type—could spend

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time visiting his favorite tourist attraction, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. Carlson's invention and his contractual connection to Haloid made him, by any measure, rich; by the late 1960s his worth was well over $100 million.

But for Carlson, the struggle for success was apparently much more compelling than success itself. On his way to becoming one of the richest men in America, he bought a new Studebaker, some Hickey Freeman suits, and a comfortable, modest house in the Rochester suburbs. He told Dorris to buy what she liked, but he wanted very few things for himself. As Owen notes, Carlson often remarked that he would be just as happy living in a trailer, and that his goal was to die as poor as he began. "His real wealth," Dorris recalled, "seemed to be composed of the number of things he could easily do without."

Thus Carlson began one of the great careers in American philanthropy, carefully donating large sums, often anonymously, to many individuals and institutions, including Caltech, the United Nations, and the United Negro College Fund. He "gave money to schools, hospitals, libraries, and international relief agencies," Owen writes, "and quietly paid off the mortgages of impoverished old ladies."

Although Owen doesn't say so explicitly, it's clear that Carlson's bleak and unsettled childhood had marked him indelibly. As an adult Carlson showed an obsessive, continuous preoccupation with order and routine: He relished "the sort of fussy activities that most people dread." Carlson was a great compiler of lists and logs; "whenever he bought gasoline," Owen writes, "he recorded the date, the car's mileage, the location, and the cost." He took special pleasure in the annual Festival of Forms sponsored by the Internal Revenue Service. Invariably on New Year's Day, Dorris recalled, right after breakfast, Carlson would announce gleefully, "well, now today I begin the income tax."

Carlson was also known for his humor, collegiality, and remarkably self-effacing ways. Owen describes Carlson attending the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels. He went to the Xerox booth, where he found a young salesman describing the promise of xerography and highlighting the life of its brilliant and determined inventor. Carlson, unrecognized, stood by listening quietly.

When the salesman finished, Carlson simply said thank you and walked away, to the surprise of a colleague, who suggested that the salesman would have surely been pleased to meet the great man whose life story he had just recounted. "He might have been happy for a little while," Carlson replied, "but it was his story and his show, and I would have been taking the light away from him and putting it on myself."

To his credit, David Owen recognizes that a person can be interesting without being, well, *interesting*. *Copies in Seconds* is an effective tribute to a man who conceived one of the twentieth century's great inventions; in fact, "in the years following Carlson's discovery, the few people who came up with truly similar ideas were able to do so only after studying Carlson's patent specifications, and their innovations were merely variations on themes he had long since defined." The book is also a tribute to a man who, during times of struggle and success, remained true to the crucial virtues. ♦

The Grey Book

. . . or how the wild left wars against the human condition. BY HARRY SIEGEL

Mix equal parts a vague *Star Wars* daydream ("Only you can save America, Luke") and a paranoid *Matrix* fantasy ("There is no America, Neo, only the System"). Add a dash of old-style political manifesto, a pinch of new-age mysticism, and just a touch of J.S. Mill's *On Liberty*, and you've got that part of the American left called the Organization—also known as the Resistance, the Movement, and the Struggle.

If you're ready to join, repeat these words: *I pledge allegiance to no authority beyond my individualism. I have taken the burden of the masses upon my shoulders and will suffer and die if necessary in bringing the greatest amount of good to the greatest number. . . . I declare myself a member of The Organization and a sister/brother to the Resistance.*

This comes from the *Grey Book*, the official dogma of the Organization, a conglomeration of "communists, anarchists, students, artists, rebels, idealists, free minds, brothers off the block and sisters from the struggle" joining together to form "a freedom fighting band of badass revolutionaries [with] goals no longer limited to late night sessions of intellectual bull[—]. . . . For once, all their struggles became one."

These are the protesters who were arrested by the hundreds in New York during the Republican convention. They have their own code, which includes Four Tenets ("Know yourself and be in constant pursuit of social-individualism," is a sufficient example). There's a Five Point Platform ("Educate, Consolidate, Retaliate, Revolt, and Reconstruct") and also a Ten Point Program (which begins by calling for "An end to self-interested war, conquest, and imperialism" and ends with "the establishment of a social system in which every individual is continuously empowered to improve their society").

Then there are the Eleven Divisions (including "Defense, Culture, and

Harry Siegel is editor of NewPartisan.com.

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Lev Nisnevitch

Protesters marching in New York during the 2004 Republican National Convention.

Community Survival"). And on top of all this is slathered the necessity of doing it with style: "There are three qualities that an Organization member must possess: dedication, candor, and panache."

These heroic new-age utilitarians, fighting for the greatest good for the greatest number—or are they followers of William Blake, each aligned only with his own individualism?—unite to stand against the System, also known as Pax-Americana which, conveniently, resembles Darth Vader's Death Star in its all-encompassing evil. This System's power "is not a physical one; instead of fighting a tyrannous opponent who would kill us to preserve power, we face one that will buy us not to."

I first encountered the Organization at Manhattan's Union Square, ground zero for the local protest scene. A young man was arguing vociferously with the park police, who'd asked him to move his table. I'd been collecting protest literature all day, so while he was so engaged, I picked up his copy of a palm-sized mimeographed manifesto that I presumed was meant for distribution. This was the *Grey Book*—and not just any *Grey Book*, but Version 0.775, as it said near the top of the first page—adding, gnomically, "The present is prologue."

On my train ride home, I read all thirty-five pages of the tiny print that asked the tough questions:

> What if humans started off as driven slaves with a whip-master behind them, progressed to a stage at which they were only driven but not whipped, and then to a stage at which they could stand enchained on their own? Perhaps modern society is one in which we all wear really shiny chains? Should we be satisfied with this stage of resistance? Or should we resist?
>
> This vague paranoia, in which less oppression is more, is fundamentally middle class in its bias, bourgeoisie in the most pejorative sense. Ennui is no less an evil in this model than true suffering: "Our society has created subjective suffering. There is as much oppression for the black father in Harlem working three jobs to feed his family, as there is for teenage girl who has been taught that she must look like a Barbie doll." And in a world where young girls are taught to look pretty, can there be any alternative to revolution? . . . Our movement is based upon necessity. When we wake up we are blessed and cursed with the profound understanding that the very nature of this system is what keeps us its slave.

The Organization seems confused about its relation to the people, repeatedly castigating the "95 percent of society in the bottom half, blind and uncaring" and comparing them unfavorably to "the Permanent Adversarial Culture, advocates of truth and Freedom." Still the freedom fighters must act on behalf of the drooling masses: "Unfortunately, we cannot know what the cumulative will of all people is at all times—but in order to best approximate this, we accept the participation of anyone willing to commit themselves to ideals of the revolution."

But at heart this is a spiritual quest for the disaffected, those who feel they weren't made for these times—those who feel disoriented and angered by the vast, dangerous, and confusing world we are all forced to navigate:

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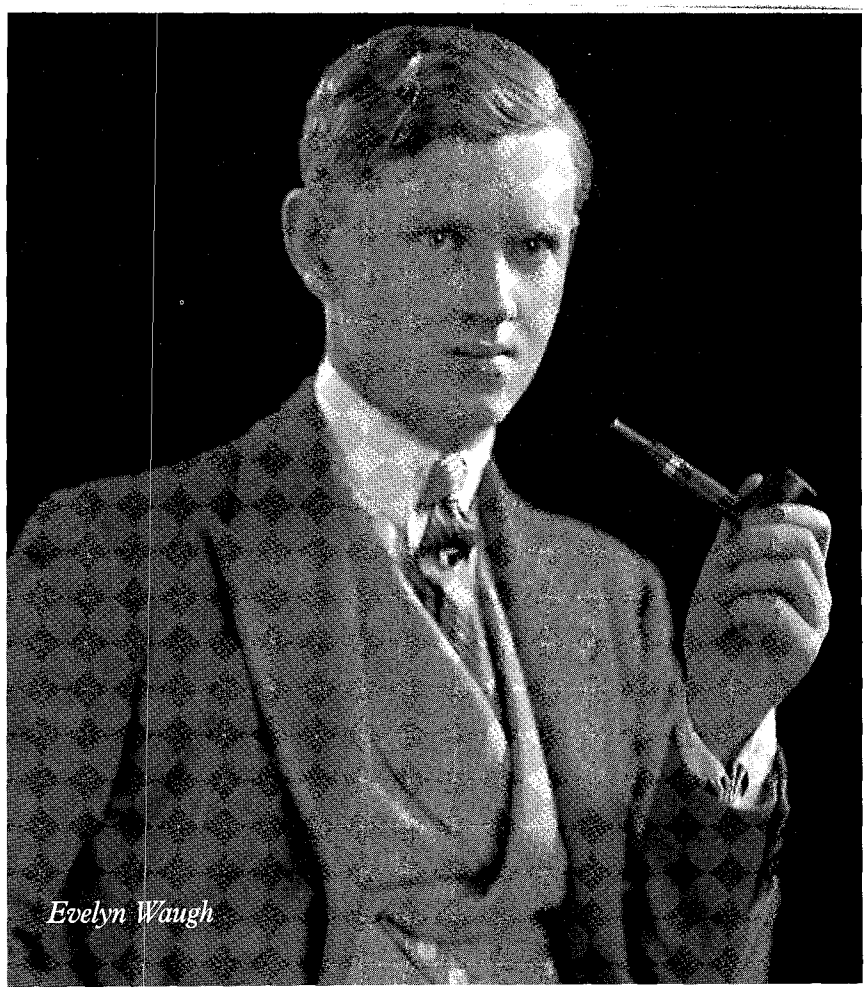
> At some point we woke up and the world was scary because we weren't going to grow up to be astronauts and cowboys. We thought we were special, we thought we were unique, and then the one day came when life seemed to make less sense. . . . We clung to something, anything that would restore meaning to our shattered existence. . . . We watched some of the best minds of our generation stumble toward adulthood dazed and confused, their talents squandered, and their hopes crushed. They turned to drugs, alcohol, and escapism so as to never face the growing problems reality presented.

The *Grey Book*'s scarcely specified struggle against a vaguely evil system reminds me of the graffiti that covered New York while I was growing up. It was at the same time a protest against corporate style logos, and a replication of them, its own form of branding. The Organization's battle is not really against America or capitalism. What they hate is reality:

> If society dictates the human condition and the human condition dictates reality, then our rebellion is against the present reality. . . . We must accept there is no guiding reason for events within our life outside of the self and that to get free we must be in constant pursuit of our dreams.

Protests and manifestos, of course, are easy targets for those who disagree with their politics. But the *Grey Book* is worth a look, if only because it expresses perfectly the mixture of mental incoherence and emotional unity that infects much of the left these days. The Organization's slogans fit easily with the signs, shirts, and slogans that lined Seventh Avenue during the big march against the Republican convention. It's not too much to ask for more from our internal opposition than such vague and solipsistic cant.

The authors of the *Grey Book* complain they are simultaneously "blessed and cursed." That is, one might point out, a definition of the human condition. But unlike the rest of us, they plan to do something about it—break the System, create salvation by their own merit, build a new Eden of permanent protest, and eliminate the messiness of the human, all too human. ♦



Evelyn Waugh

CORBIS

Waugh on Screen

A film version of Vile Bodies *suggests Evelyn Waugh was right to hate the movies.* BY GABY WENIG

Evelyn Waugh thought movies vapid and dishonest, one of the evils of the modern age. In the Waughian universe, the film industry attracted self-promoters and hucksters, always at the ready to trade their own self worth for a bloated swell of bogus importance. Hollywood is the setting for the displaced English gentlemen in *The Loved One*, for example, and in *Vile Bodies* (1930), Colonel Blount acts, donates his house, and loses a fortune in a terrible historical film about John Wesley.

But this scene from *Vile Bodies* is excised from *Bright Young Things*, Stephen Fry's recently released film adaptation of the book in America. The scene's details—a hilarious misunderstanding of the word "shooting," the cheery fabrication of Wesley's life, and Colonel Blount's debasement of his ancestral home—disclose Waugh's bleak belief that movies distort and destroy the integrity of everything.

Nevertheless *Bright Young Things* (Waugh's working title for *Vile Bodies*) is a funny film. Like the book, the film is essentially a pastiche of incidents in the lives of people who relish seeing their names in gossip columns. It follows the misfortunes of Adam Fenwick Symes (played by Stephen Campbell Moore) who arrives in England from France, only to have the unpublished novel that was to be his livelihood confiscated by customs officials. ("If we can't stamp out literature from the country, we can at least stop it being brought in from outside.")

So Adam, now penniless, calls his fiancée (Emily Mortimer): "I say Nina,

Gaby Wenig is a writer living in Los Angeles.

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I don't think we shall be getting married after all."

Fortune dances before Adam, flying away every time he almost grabs it. He makes £1,000 on a bet, and then bets that money again on what he finds out right after is sure to be a losing horse. He receives a £1,000 check from Nina's father—only to find that it is bogus because Colonel Blount (Peter O'Toole) signed it "Charlie Chaplin." He gets a job as a gossip columnist, but loses it when Nina writes the column for him and unknowingly disregards instructions from the newspaper's imperious owner, Lord Monomark (Dan Aykroyd). Adam gets engaged and disengaged to Nina with every turn of his luck, and eventually, she leaves him for Ginger (David Tennant)—who buys her from Adam for the sum necessary to pay his hotel bill.

Adam and Nina belong to a group of bright young things, who fester merrily in an incestuous atmosphere of gossip and scandal. It is here that Fry's film shines, both in the cast of character actors he assembled and in his evocation of a bright, colorful and supremely fashionable place where nothing much matters except having fun. The smart set hop from party to party, dinner to dinner, viewing everything through snobby and derisive eyes which coddle feelings of boredom and superiority.

Fenella Woolgar is perfect as Agatha Runcible, the dippy socialite. (In *Vile Bodies*, Agatha "heard someone say something about an Independent Labour Party, and she was furious that she had not been asked.") Woolgar speaks the haute vernacular ("too, too shaming") with all the mannered inflections of a woman who makes a charming persona out of being self-conscious. Jim Broadbent, as the drunken major, valiantly maintains his stiff upper lip even as his speech is slurring, and Stockard Channing as the money-grubbing evangelist Mrs. Melrose Ape with her coterie of prepubescent "angels," bellows a sanctimonious holiness through the most decadent of parties.

Fry has said in interviews that the reason he wrote the script and directed *Bright Young Things* was because he saw *Vile Bodies* as a contemporary book, paralleling our own society's obsession with gossip and celebrity. The comparison is mostly valid, but *Vile Bodies* is not, at its essence, a book about gossip and celebrity. Though funny, it remains a dark and grim book about a society racing toward its own oblivion. The bright young things have not-so-bright endings: Runcible dies in the loony bin, Balcairn the gossip columnist gases himself, Ginger betrays his friends, Nina becomes an adulterous mother, and the former angel Chastity finishes as a prostitute. The book leaves the depthless Adam on the battlefield, his promised fortune of £35,005 worthless, about to be carried away by the "swirling tycoon" of the war.

The cast of Bright Young Things

ThinkFilm

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Fry increases the bright young things' bad behavior: They all snort cocaine, for example, and it's hinted that some support Hitler. But in the flippancy of his narrative, Fry removes the gloom in the otherwise gay lives of the characters—which allows him to distort the ending. *Bright Young Things* ends on a note of maturity and sweetness, as if the vile bodies came to the realization that there was more to life than an endless succession of parties.

How Waugh would have hated it! His most scathing fictional satire of the film industry is in the opening chapters of *The Loved One*, where he pillories English expatriates desperately trying to fit into the Hollywood scene. In his nonfiction too, Waugh rails against films, pitching himself as one of "hundreds of thousands of mature, sensible, men and women" who find films "boring and irritating." "There is hardly a single film for which one does not make allowances," he wrote in 1930 in the *Daily Mail*. "One has to make a deliberate effort to put oneself in the state of mind to accept and enjoy the second rate." The film industry insists "upon everything being suitable for everyone. The result is that it produces a commodity mildly unsuitable to almost everyone."

In another essay, "Why Hollywood Is a Term of Disparagement" (1947), Waugh described the "inhumanity" of the lives of screen actresses and castigated Hollywood for its disrespect to artists. "Literary considerations are as despised in the film studios as in those of modern painters," he wrote. "Each of the books purchased [by studios] has had some individual quality, good or bad, that has made it remarkable. It is the work of a staff of writers to . . . obliterate it. We all know frightful examples of favorite books we have seen thus sterilized."

Waugh stood by his beliefs. When it came time for him to sell the film rights of *Brideshead Revisited* (1944), he traveled to Hollywood on the studio's dime, but never intended to sell the rights at all, says biographer David Wykes. Waugh believed Americans and the studio heads courting him had a misplaced enthusiasm for the book. They "see *Brideshead* purely as a love story," Waugh wrote in his diary in 1947. "None of them see the theological implications."

Waugh's concerns were not misplaced. The 1965 screen version of *The Loved One* careens wildly into a world of jet-propelled funerals and morbidly obese gluttons who eat whole pigs, destroying Waugh's satire by lurching into the ludicrous. Waugh's first novel, *Decline and Fall* (1928), about the misadventures of the hapless Paul Pennyfeather, was similarly lost in celluloid translation. The 1968 film—renamed *Decline and Fall . . . of a Birdwatcher*—is less a spoof of the English upper classes or a comic vision of a world gone to hell than a screwball caper of incoherent adventure. It's a film in the same vein as *Dude, Where's My Car?* or *Harold & Kumar Go to White Castle*: a jumble of events held together in tenuous cohesion by the recurrence of similar characters.

A Handful of Dust (1934), the novel Waugh wrote in the bitter aftermath of his divorce from first wife Evelyn Gardner, made a better film in 1988. Directed by Charles Sturridge, the film shows the family country home of Hetton in its cold emptiness, rooms too big for the few people who rattle around in them, and contrasts it with Brenda's delightfully modern London flat, which is small but bright and cheery, painted in pastels, decorated with "chrome plating."

Sturridge had made an earlier and very popular attempt to adapt Waugh, codirecting with Michael Lindsay-Hogg the BBC's eleven-hour miniseries of *Brideshead Revisited* in 1981. *Brideshead Revisited* was Waugh's most financially successful book. Subtitled "The Sacred and Profane Memories of Captain Charles Ryder," the book tells of Ryder's infatuation with the Flyte family, a group of aristocrats who live in a grand old home called Brideshead, and of his gradual appreciation and understanding of Catholicism. Waugh, who converted to Catholicism as an adult, held the book close to his heart. The dramatic scene of Lord Marchmain (Sebastian and Julia's prodigal father) making the sign of the cross on his deathbed—returning in both body and soul to his faith—was the crux of the book and a measure of how central Catholicism was to Waugh.

The miniseries captures the book's rich and dreamy nostalgia, and it is more or less faithful to the book's eschatological concerns. But in 2005 a new film version of *Brideshead Revisited* starring Jude Law as Sebastian Flyte and Paul Bettany as Ryder will be released, and, if all goes as planned, it will fulfill Waugh's fears about adaptations of the book and his criticisms of the film industry. According to the *Independent*, screenwriter Andrew Davies is intent on remaking *Brideshead Revisited* as a love story between Ryder and Julia and cutting out the "theological implications." As Waugh mused about Hollywood's distortion of a Somerset Maugham story: "Why, one wonders, do they trouble to purchase rights?" ♦

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Another Harvard Copycat

What's going on up in Cambridge? Is it something in the water? First Doris Kearns Goodwin, member of Harvard's Board of Overseers, gets caught borrowing from a book on the Kennedys. Then Alan Dershowitz, the Felix Frankfurter professor of law, is accused of excessive dependence on an earlier book about Israel. And now Charles J. Ogletree—the Jesse Climenko professor of law—has admitted on the Harvard University website that he, too, did a spot of plagiarism this year.

Only a *spot*, you understand, and "inadvertently," "under the pressure of meeting a deadline" for *All Deliberate Speed: Reflections on the First Half-Century of Brown v. Board of Education* (W.W. Norton: 2004). Along the way, three pages of Yale professor Jack M. Balkin's *What Brown v. Board of Education Should Have Said* (NYU Press: 2001) got stolen—or, rather, got "inserted in a draft section of the book by one of my assistants for the purpose of being reviewed, researched, and summarized by another research assistant." But that "second assistant then sent a revised draft to the publisher," forgetting to clean up the work of the previous assistant.

This is an explanation, I suppose, for how plagiarism can happen. But think about the worse thing the explanation reveals: Ogletree didn't plan to write *All Deliberate Speed* in the first place. His graduate assistants cobbled it together for him from other sources—and, as Ogletree puts it, "I was negligent in not overseeing more carefully the final product that carries my name."

That's a curious construction, but it seems correct, in the end. Surely we reserve the term "authors" for people who write books—not people who create "final products that carry their name."

When did this become the way that a Harvard faculty member produces a book? There are easy ironies in any story of professorial plagiarism, of course. In *Writing with Sources*, a guide for Harvard's composition students dug up by *Slate* magazine during the Goodwin scandal, Ogletree's time pressure is explicitly rejected as an excuse: "Most often . . . the plagiarist has started out with good intentions but hasn't left enough time to do the reading and thinking that the assignment requires, has become desperate, and just wants the whole thing done with."

So, too, this week's back-to-school issue of the Harvard Law School's official newsletter, the *HLS Adviser*, notes: "The Administrative Board wishes to call the attention of all students to (1) materials on plagiarism and collaboration appearing on p. 223 of this year's *HLS Catalog*, and (2) the information on discipline on p. 231 of the *Catalog*"—where the claim of inadvertence that Ogletree makes is declared an insufficient defense.

But ironic as this all may be—a nest of unpunished plagiarists solemnly warning their students about the penalties for plagiarism—I find the pseudo-production of *All Deliberate Speed* more disturbing. Ogletree's assistants pasted together material from other books, then swept through the assembled text rewriting, editing, paraphrasing, and summarizing as they went. They got caught because they missed a passage, but what's wrong isn't the part they missed. It's the whole procedure.

Despite his very limited scholarly credentials, Charles Ogletree was granted tenure at Harvard Law School in 1993 as an expert in race relations during the peak of the agitation—sit-ins, marches, accusations of racism—to diversify the school's faculty. Rumors swirled about the writing, editing, and placement of his tenure-winning essay in the *Harvard Law Review*, but, by any measure, Ogletree was hired precisely because race cases like *Brown* v. *Board of Education* were his specialty. He's not supposed to need other sources. He's a Harvard law professor; other sources are supposed to need *him*.

An anonymous note, sent to Yale's Balkin and Ogletree's dean at Harvard shortly after *All Deliberate Speed* was published in April, prompted an investigation, which the dean assigned to former Harvard president Derek Bok and former dean Robert Clark. The only result so far is Ogletree's public explanation on the Harvard website. In the end, Bok told the *Boston Globe*, the investigators decided that though there was "a serious scholarly transgression," they found "no deliberate wrongdoing at all." Ogletree merely "marshaled his assistants and parceled out the work," Bok explained, "and in the process some quotation marks got lost."

But that ought to be the *definition* of "deliberate wrongdoing." Oh, the actual reproduction of Balkin's words was certainly inadvertent. But by every explanation, Ogletree conceived much of the book as a kind of double plagiarism: He set out to put his name on work done by his assistants, who, he knew, were merely rephrasing work written by other people.

That is not a book. It is, at the least, tenure-revoking ghostwriting. Why hasn't Harvard, which has known about this for months, done something about Charles Ogletree?

—*Joseph Bottum*

Joseph Bottum is Books & Arts editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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Parody

CBS News released a statement yesterday standing by its reporting, saying that each of the documents "was thoroughly vetted by independent experts and we are convinced of their authenticity." The statement added that CBS reporters had verified the documents by talking to unidentified people who saw them "at the time they were written." **—Washington Post, *September 10, 2004***

A12 TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2004 • THE WASHINGTON POST

Newly unearthed Bush letter disclosed by CBS's Rather

of course, what I'm really doing here in Alabama is selling crack. The money is good, since crack won't be invented until 16 years from now, so I've kind of got the market cornered. Of course, Nixon—a president whose standards of probity in office I have made a solemn vow to emulate when I become president—is going to take us off the gold standard next year, so who knows what our money'll be worth by the time my two daughters are born! Maybe we'll put it in euros!

I'll have to cut this short, since there's a CBS employee squatting next to the microwave watching me type this. I'm pretending not to notice him, but his cell phone keeps going off, which causes me to shout obscenities that demean women, something I do frequently.

Anyway, I'm off to the bar, for a few cranberry-chocolate-swizzle martinis. They seem to be all the rage here in rural Alabama in 1970, where it sure is good to know that George Wallace—whose thinking I hope to duplicate when I defeat Ann Richards for governor of Texas!—is still in power. When people tell me I'm drinking too much, I tell 'em, Hey! it's only 18 more years till I have my personal revelation and quit for good, so who's got time to waste?

Anyhow, thanks a lot! Any help you or Mrs. Khomeini can give me in bailing me out of my obligations to my country would be much appreciated!

Yours truly,
Goerge

the weekly Standard
SEPTEMBER 20, 2004

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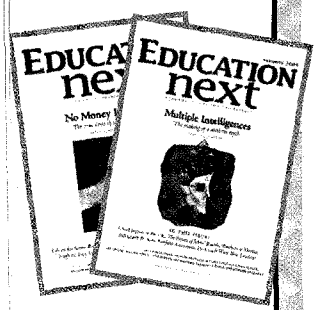
What Works in the Classroom?

INTERESTED IN CUTTING-EDGE IDEAS ABOUT K–12 EDUCATION?



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Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Teachers would like to know what teaching practices and instructional materials would work best for their students. Every teacher has heard the phrases "studies show that . . ." and "research-based program," but all too often teachers can't find usable research for their K–12 classrooms.

Advances based on the scientific method abound today—everywhere but in the K–12 classroom. Teachers need high-quality research into what works and what doesn't work, but that need is largely unfulfilled. For example, a 1998 report to the California State Board of Education examined 8,727 published studies of mathematics education and found that only 110 met minimal validity criteria.

The importance of high-quality research—and the difficulty of finding the useful research needle in the mostly straw haystack of current studies—has prompted the U.S. Department of Education to provide a screening service in the form of the new What Works Clearinghouse web site (see www.whatworks.ed.gov). The Clearinghouse chose peer-assisted learning (also known as "group learning") and middle-school mathematics as the first topics to investigate.

So far, the results confirm the perception that we have a long way to go in the scientific study of education. For the peer-learning category, 15 of 191 studies met Clearinghouse criteria. (Some 109 studies have yet to be screened.) For the mathematics category, one met Clearinghouse criteria, one was close (met with reservations), and 48 did not meet the standards (20 are yet to be screened). Worse yet, neither of the two acceptable mathematics studies showed any significant difference between methods.

Some argue that the standards used to evaluate studies are too stringent. A review of the reports for the 17 accepted studies quickly dispels this notion. They are small studies with a host of methodological weaknesses. If anything, the Clearinghouse may have engaged in a bit of grade inflation so that it didn't end up rejecting all the studies. Those who want the Clearinghouse to set lower standards are most likely the producers of poor-quality research or those who support weak programs for philosophical rather than evidence-based reasons.

Others fear that the Clearinghouse will go beyond the Department of Education's mandate by endorsing particular programs. However, the Clearinghouse only looks at the quality of studies, not the quality of the programs they address. Maybe this is a moot point; so far it looks as if the Clearinghouse won't be perceived as offering a strong endorsement for any program in the foreseeable future. What may be the strongest of the 17 accepted studies show no added benefit of the program being evaluated, and none of the studies comes close to providing any strong supporting evidence.

It is hoped that the Clearinghouse will encourage better research, which is one of the goals of the project. **Teachers need educational research that provides good advice on which materials and methods are best for classroom use for specified academic objectives with various groups of students. Clearly, the message from the What Works Clearinghouse is that educational research has a long way to go.**

—Paul Clopton and Bill Evers

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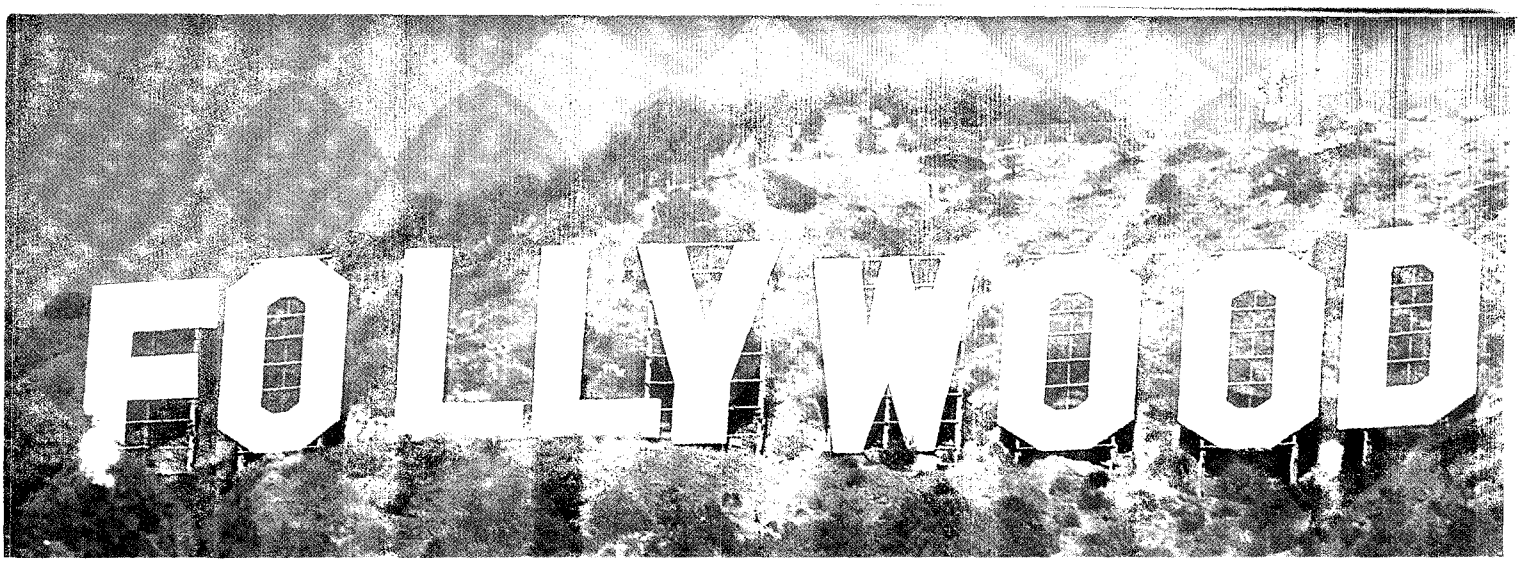

They're at it again.

Once again, Hollywood is trying to crush legitimate innovation to maintain its entertainment distribution monopoly. In 1984 they tried to destroy the fledgling VCR industry, but failed when the Supreme Court recognized the chilling effect it would have on technology. More recently, a federal appellate court ruled against Hollywood's attempt to thwart another promising new technology, peer-to-peer software. Hollywood's agenda has never changed: sabotage any innovation that threatens their complete control over access to content. The result: denying consumers real choice.

Now they want to steamroll S. 2560 (the "Induce Act"), which could outlaw a wide range of hardware and software, including peer-to-peer. If this bill is enacted, Hollywood will be able to 'veto' any technology it doesn't like under the guise of copyright protection. Let's be clear, this is a misguided attempt to unravel the 1984 Supreme Court Sony Betamax decision that protects companies developing new, legal technologies.

Further, S. 2560 is so vague that it endangers a wide range of consumer electronics and software innovation. "I find it sort of scary," says Jessica D. Litman, professor of law at Wayne State University. "It's worded so broadly...it threatens to sweep within it virtually all everyday consumer technologies." (*Washington Post*, June 24, 2004)

And that's just the tip of the S. 2560 iceberg:

- S. 2560 will **hurt American competitiveness** by artificially constraining the marketplace, giving foreign companies a decisive advantage.
- S. 2560 will **penalize consumers** by restricting their choice of legitimate entertainment.
- S. 2560 will **hold back independent and emerging artists**, who benefit from the few alternative distribution channels Hollywood doesn't control.
- S. 2560 will **simply enable the harassment of technology companies** by trial lawyers who will use its vaguely worded language to bring actions against any company developing technology that Hollywood doesn't like.
- S. 2560 will **bail out Hollywood fat cats** who refuse to face the reality of healthy competition and alternative content distribution channels.
- S. 2560 will **severely limit peer-to-peer software**, an innovation that will benefit the entertainment industry and underpin the next generation of communication technologies.
- S. 2560 will **throttle innovation** with the threat of costly litigation every time a product is developed that Hollywood alleges "induces" copyright infringement.

Just say "NO" to S. 2560

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